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Military Review

ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT the weather has again become the dominant factor. Twice in the week ending March 19 thaws were reported from that area. The condition of the roads in Eastern Europe, where most of the supplies and all of the troops have to move by road, makes it rather unlikely that any more sweeping actions will be attempted there before spring has hardened the highways. The Soviet military style is not to attempt to operate under such conditions, but to treat the period as one of "constructive pause," during which materials are accumulated and redistributions effected for the next big movement. There is no implication of idleness involved, and the London press, which criticized the Red Army rather harshly for not starting a relief offensive when the Nazis broke through into the Ardennes in December, must be doing some word-eating.

For it is already evident that the Russians will possess the initiative in any new campaign, and they are going painstakingly about the business of ensuring that the drive, when it comes, will be made with adequate troop masses and *points d'appui*. In the former field belong the efforts being made against the big pocket of Danzig, the somewhat smaller one at Königsberg, and the quite small one at Graudenz, another at Kolberg having fallen on March 18. In spite of the fact that the Germans still seem to have naval control of the Baltic, the troops in these enclaves are about as thoroughly out of the war as if they were in concentration camps; but considerable Russian forces are at present required to contain them, and every German who can be eliminated in the pockets means one more Russian for the ultimate drive across the Oder. With Küstrin captured and the bridgehead there thoroughly established, Zhukov seems to be directing his attention toward Stettin, with the object of making his ultimate major crossing on a broad front for a sweep around Berlin on the north, through the lake country of Mecklenburg.

All this is not a major campaign; it is preparation for one. But in the something-less-than-major campaign since they first looked on Oder water, the Soviets have already achieved two important results. They have demolished any possibility of counter-attack; and they have drawn to the east so many of the Nazis' reserves that the whole western-front offensive became possible.

The fact that Eisenhower's attack gets into motion just as Zhukov's runs down into local operations is not evidence of faulty inter-allied coöperation, but a function of differences in terrain and to some extent in the styles of the commanders, which can be as individual as methods in literature or painting. Under spring and pre-spring conditions, the broad sweeps of the Russian strategy are simply not possible; and only in the west can important results be obtained from the limited geographical movements that are possible.

The details of the operations there vary; but on any general view of them, one fact stands out strikingly —how closely all are integrated with the use of the air force, which forms so much larger a proportion of

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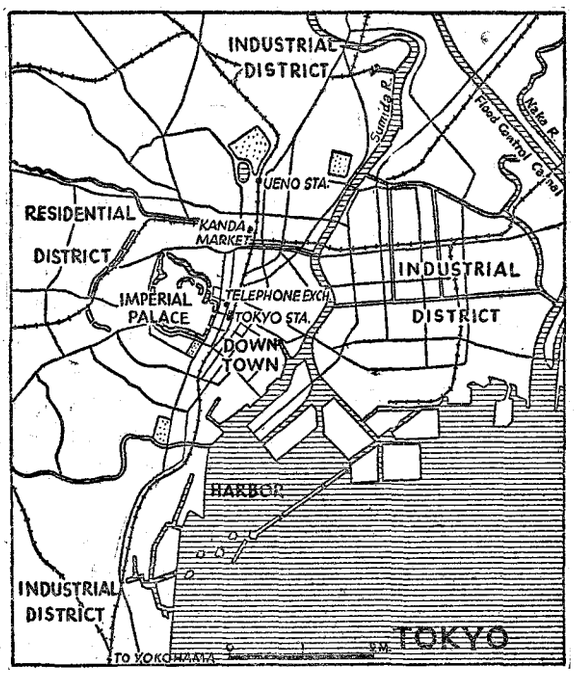
the total strength in our army than it does in that of any other fighting nation. It would not be inaccurate to say that the general strategic policy of the whole western campaign has been and still is that of attacks along the ground to force the enemy into movement, followed by attack from the air against those movements while in progress. A modern version of the Napoleonic attack on the lines of communication, and one in which the full potentialities of air power are being realized for the first time, though in quite a different manner than was foreseen by Douhet.

The attack of the Third and Seventh Armies, which has already made the Palatinate untenable (barring a sensational recovery from some source at present invisible) is an example of this. The bag in prisoners has been fairly small; but the disintegrating effect on the whole organization of the German army has been very great. Everywhere they are in action as isolated battalions and even companies, often out of touch with the higher organizations. This has been reflected in the performance of the individual soldier; however Hitler and Goebbels may talk about fighting to the last, he is reported as giving up much more readily after firing a few shots for his "soldierly honor." But more important, it is reflected in the dispositions of the higher organizations themselves; they seem to have constant difficulty in carrying out any maneuvers whatever—they can conceive but not execute. One finds increasing evidences that the Reich High Command, as at the crossing of the Roer, judged the situation correctly, but was unable to take the steps it knew to be necessary.



Tokyo Burns

All the downtown section, most of the industrial district to the north and all of that to the east of the downtown section were wiped out in the incendiary raids of last week. The destruction at Kobe seems to have been at least as important, that at Nagoya and Osaka somewhat less. German cities, on the whole, have suffered about as severely without affecting the production of articles necessary to the war; but in the case of Japan, all the cities have been hit practically at once, giving no opportunity for relocations.

With the fire-bomb attacks on Japanese cities, air-power strategy is also dominating the Pacific war. On Iwo the Japanese inflicted a casualty for nearly every one they received; but to their immediate losses on the island should be added all those who have perished in the flames of their cities. It is no mere coincidence that these raids should so closely follow the Iwo attack. The B-29 is a very vulnerable beast on the ground, and until the Jap bombers at Iwo were eliminated, it was dangerous to put the big planes into the Marianas in high enough concentrations to achieve results.

What the ultimate effect of the fire-raids will be, it is a little harder to say. It is possible that they will not cut down Japanese manufacturing as much as imagined. General Merrill has pointed out that every piece of Japanese equipment found on his front was made in Manchuria rather than in metropolitan Japan. But at the very least they are bound to reduce the already low standard of living for many thousands of Japanese who are beyond the range of the bombers.

Churchill's Political Speech

Churchill's speech to the Conservative Party was, of course, a political utterance designed to lay the basis for the next general election. Two points stand out in it—the proposal to continue the Coalition after the war, and the defense of private enterprise. Both are adroit political answers.

There is, according to the polls, a substantial sentiment in the country for a continuance of coalition after the war. Though some Laborites agree with this proposal, most of them dislike it. The Labor Party has already been identified with the Conservatives in the National Government and so bears responsibility for any unpopularity it may have earned. In order to make a good campaign, it must find a way of differentiating itself sharply from its opponents. But if it goes into a campaign with another coalition in prospect, it cannot do this. Mr. Churchill must know that it will have to repudiate the proposal; this leaves him the advantage of capitalizing on the coalition sentiment and seeming to stand for broad national interest.

The declaration for private enterprise does not mean what it would mean in the United States. Everybody in Great Britain knows that governmental intervention must be continued and that public ownership is bound to be extended. The slogan is to make the Labor Party appear extremist by comparison. Small businessmen and shopkeepers who are in no danger of being nationalized may be frightened by this line into adherence to the Tories.

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The CED on Bretton Woods

The CED, which is as representative a body of businessmen as exists in the United States, has declared for ratification of the Bretton Woods proposals for both the Monetary Fund and the International Bank, provided the nations concerned will agree to an amendment which, they say, will make explicit a power which the Bank may exercise even without the amendment. Furthermore, they would not delay ratification until this amendment is adopted.

The amendment would give the Bank the power to make loans for the stabilization of exchanges. If this were done, the Committee argues, one of the principal criticisms of the Fund would be met. Fear has been expressed that the Fund would be employed to support weak currencies indefinitely, whereas it should be applied only to iron out short-term fluctuations. Actual stabilization loans the CED regards as an investment function.

There is much to be said for this proposal, though we should hardly have regarded the amendment as necessary. The theory of those who drafted Bretton Woods has been from the beginning that when a country's exchange, after being adjusted to postwar realities, shows a long-term tendency to sag, the basic remedy is more investment in that country. An investment loan would act immediately to balance its exchange, while the productive power which the loan stimulated would increase its capacity to export and thus to strengthen its currency in the international market. What difference does it make whether the loan is called one for development or one for stabilization? It will not be a sound loan, even for stabilization, unless it results in development.

German Peace Feelers

If true, the reports of a German peace offer to the Western powers—backed by threats that they would open Germany to the Russian armies unless accepted—indicate complete lack of understanding on the part of the Nazis of the change in the British and American psychological attitude toward the Soviet Union. The Communist bogey argument, which was an effective instrument of Nazi diplomacy in the prewar appeasement era, does not work today. Nothing could serve the combined Allied war effort against Germany better than rapid occupation of the country by the Russians. The time to try to split the Allies is long past. The Nazis are obviously bamboozled by their own propaganda. Their stiffened resistance on the eastern front betrays the fact that they fear the Russians more than the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, Hitler's plea for peace on condition that he be allowed to continue as master inside Germany, does not conceal his concern at his growing unpopularity with the German people. Reports of strikes in war-production centers, hunger riots and peace demonstrations in many German cities reveal increasing opposition to the Nazi regime. They also suggest that the Nazis will find it extremely difficult to build themselves up as the chief martyrs of a crucified Germany.

Bending the Curfew

Every patriotic citizen in New York must feel ashamed of the action of Mayor LaGuardia in violating the national curfew by allowing night clubs to stay open until one a.m. It is true that the national curfew was not intended primarily for middle-class patrons of New York night clubs. It was intended to cut down shocking absenteeism in war plants in Detroit, Los Angeles, Seattle and other cities. A man who goes to bed at 12 o'clock will be on the job the next day; a man who stays out until 4 a.m. will lose a day's work. Mayor LaGuardia yielded to pressure from night-club owners who have been making unprecedented profits for years, on the specious argument that closing the clubs at midnight was driving the New Yorkers to vice and crime. It is nonsense to suppose that vice and crime are absent at 11:59 and then start at 12:01—or that postponing the curfew an hour will prevent vice and crime at 1:01. We hear a great deal about the bad effect on soldier morale of strikes in wartime. What will they think of night-club owners and patrons who, while our men are fighting and dying at the front, want an extra hour's fun in the middle of the night?

A Foolish Restriction

The House of Representatives, in extending Lend-Lease for another year, added a proviso that Lend-Lease goods shall not be used for purposes of postwar rehabilitation. We hope the Senate will remove this provision from the bill. It has no practical effect except to register a vague hostility and isolationism on the part of members of Congress. Relief may be necessary, but the European countries don't want gifts for postwar reconstruction. They want to get on their feet through their own efforts; in so far as they need supplies from the United States they want to pay for them with their own exports, or borrow money from the new International Bank or otherwise, on a sound business basis.

What the House stipulation really would do is to endanger our war effort. There are many things which the army does, using Lend-Lease materials, which shade over imperceptibly from military activity to postwar aid. For example, the army repairs railroads to move troops and munitions to the front; but these repaired railroads are useful in the postwar period, and the repairs are therefore presumably forbidden by the House of Representatives. The same is true when French or Belgian factories are set going to manufacture supplies for the army, or when power plants, telephone exchanges, water and sewage systems are

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repaired. What the House did is a stupid and short-sighted act, which should be dropped and quietly forgotten, at the first opportunity.

The Future of Price Control

Price control is again under very heavy attack. On Capitol Hill, business spokesmen and lobbyists are bombarding the Senate Banking and Currency Committee with reasons why they must have higher prices now and why the life of the OPA should be extended for only one year instead of the eighteen-month period requested by Price Administrator Bowles. They do not dare openly oppose extension of the OPA.

The representatives of business are active in the executive agencies too, working for price increases for their individual products, pushing especially hard for a new device known as "product standards" which permits profit raising in a roundabout way. The very last act of Judge Vinson as Economic Stabilizer was to write Mr. Bowles asking that he outlaw the "product-standards" device and thus suspend the proposed steel-price increases based on it. It now falls to the new Stabilizer, William H. Davis, to see that Vinson's last recommendation is carried out. Mr. Davis has publicly stated that he fears an "economic squall" here after the fall of Germany. If we are to ride it out, now is the time for him to insist that Congress proceed not only to extend the Price Control Act for at least eighteen months but also strengthen the Act through the amendments Bowles has told Congress are needed.

Organizing for Reconversion

The resolution recently passed by War Mobilizer Byrnes's Advisory Board, asking him to let them in on what is happening in his Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, high-lights a major concern in Washington today. The old struggle between the army and civilian officials as to ways and means of managing production is very hot again. Under the protection of Major General Lucius D. Clay, deputy to Byrnes, the army has moved in on the War Production Board in full force and now practically controls the civilian economy as well as war production. Members of Byrnes's own Advisory Board, as well as other civilian production experts, charge that the civilian economy may soon near the breaking point as a result. They blame Mobilizer Byrnes's "hands-off" attitude which the *New Republic* among others has criticized from the beginning and point out that General Clay has not failed to "pull his rank" in production squabbles whenever his boss, General Somervell, needed help.

We warmly sympathize with the civilian members of the Byrnes Advisory Board, who object to being used as a front for policies on which they have not been consulted. We shall need all the brains and experience we can muster to come through reconversion successfully. The least Mr. Byrnes can do is to use the limited assistance available to him under his present Office of Mobilization and Reconversion.

The CIO and Wage Policy

The CIO has decided to stand by the National War Labor Board. At a special meeting of its executive board called to consider future CIO policy on wage questions, a resolution to "withdraw from the WLB," submitted by the United Auto Workers and the Textile Workers' Union, was tabled by a vote of 43 to 4. This is what most labor reporters expected to happen. Any other decision would have been out of keeping with the CIO's voluntary no-strike pledge and would finally have been more harmful to labor than to the Administration. However, the CIO Board also voted, 45 to 2, to make new representations to the President for wage adjustments on the basis of cost-of-living requirements and the need for reconversion reserves in savings. Few Washington observers believe that labor will win its fight for revision of the Little Steel formula in the near future. "Fringe" increases to meet specific cases of injustice continue to be the trend. A new campaign to establish a 65-cent-an-hour wage minimum is now planned.

Limiting Campaign Funds

The Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures has now brought out a series of excellent recommendations for changes in the present Corrupt Practices Act. The Committee urges Congress to abolish the present $5,000 ceiling on individual contributions to any one party or committee, the $10,000 limit on expenditures in a congressional election, and the $3 million limit for any one political organization in a presidential campaign. The Committee says the present restrictions only produce evasion and subterfuge. It favors substituting full publicity on expenditures, in the hope that public opinion will force the kind of regulation that prohibitionary methods have failed to produce. This is certainly one of the most important changes that need to be made in the Corrupt Practices Act. We hope that the present Congress will tackle the problem seriously.

The Campaign Expenditures Committee also handed in special reports on several of the special committees which were active in the last election. The CIO Political Action Committee was commended for its careful observance of the election laws and Pappy O'Daniel's *W. Lee O'Daniel News* has been reported to the Department of Justice for apparent violation of the Corrupt Practices Act prohibition against political contributions by corporations.

The Douds Case Again

About a month ago, the National Labor Relations Board summarily dismissed the director of the New York branch, Mr. Charles T. Douds, by a two-to-one

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vote, board member Gerard D. Reilly vigorously dissenting. At the time, this action was strongly criticized in the press. We now learn that the Civil Service Commission will review this dismissal, using its new powers under the GI Bill of Rights, and, presumably, make public its findings. This seems to us good news; much of the usefulness of the NLRB is destroyed if its members are under suspicion of unjust dealing with one of their own important employees. It will be remembered that no criticism was made of Mr. Douds's enforcement of the NLRA in New York, where one-fifth of all the cases before the NLRB originate. His rulings have been sustained on appeals, he has had a high efficiency rating and has been praised by the overwhelming majority of trade unions, employers and governmental agencies with whom he has come into contact. The only criticism of him, after eight years' highly satisfactory service, was that the morale of his subordinates was not good. On this charge, and without any real opportunity to defend himself, he was dismissed. But everyone knows that it is easy to cook up a case of "bad morale in the office" against any executive if, for instance, a few subordinates disagree with him, on ideological or other grounds, and want to get rid of him. It will be most interesting to see what the Civil Service Commission has to say on this whole matter.

People in the Limelight: Lister Hill

Senator Lister Hill, a member of one of the First Families of Alabama, has recently taken the lead in the fight to abolish the poll tax in that state. This is visible evidence of how far he has come from his origins as a rich man's son in Montgomery, "the Cradle of the Confederacy."

Lister Hill always wanted to be in politics. While he was still in prep school, he would dog the footsteps of shrewd old Governor Bibb Graves, learning the ways of practical politicians. Hill came to Congress when he was 29 and has been there ever since, moving to the Senate to fill out the unexpired term of Hugo Black when Black was appointed to the Supreme Court. Today, he must be classed among the half-dozen or so most effective progressives in the upper house.

As a Representative in the House, Hill distinguished himself chiefly for his leadership in establishing the Tennessee Valley Authority, coming on the national scene as a supporter of Senator Norris. In the Senate, he has been a strong right arm for the Farm Security Administration. Now he is leading the fight for a federal-aid-to-education bill, so imperative for the future development of the South. He served successfully as floor leader for the confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. Lister Hill has been steadily growing in understanding and courage ever since he came to Congress. He is now one of the real moral leaders of the New South.

Impasse in China

AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE to China's permanent membership in the Security Council of the United Nations certainly should be that she put her chaotic political house in order. Otherwise, since under the Dumbarton Oaks plan world peace is considered primarily the responsibility of the Big Five, the power that goes with being one of them could not be properly implemented in the case of China. Unfortunately, in spite of repeated negotiations during the last few months, the impasse reached between the Kuomintang government in Chungking and the Communist government in Yenan has not been resolved. And there seems little likelihood that it will be overcome in the near future. This is the more regrettable because it may have an adverse bearing on the course of the war in the Far East.

It may be that the conflict between Chungking and Yenan will never be settled by peaceful means. It is in the belief that this may be true that both governments insist on their control of large military establishments. The power of each government in its own area is as much a reality as is the existence of latent civil war between them. The fears and suspicions generated by this situation on both sides have so far blocked the possibility of any understanding. Each side wants definite guarantees which the other is unwilling to give. Chungking wants the Communists to give up the control of their armies. The Communists want the actual introduction of democratic government throughout China before doing so. What it all adds up to is that neither Chungking nor Yenan is prepared to take the first step.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Shape of Things Now

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Since the "Stilwell Affair" of last autumn it has become ever more clear that the political stalemate in China is of considerable interest to the United States. But while every responsible American observer who has returned from China in the last year is greatly impressed by the military and civilian accomplishments of the Yenan (Communist) government and has little cause for praising Chungking, the policy of the United States seems haphazard and contradictory. Our attempt not to interfere in China's internal political squabble but to get on with the war, is probably doomed to failure. For the basic issue in China is political and not military.

Two recent incidents may serve to illustrate this. On February 15, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, the United States Commander in China, declared that he was not empowered to give military aid to the guerrilla fighters of Communist China, and that all United States officers in China were required to sign a statement that they will not give assistance to individuals and organizations other than those affiliated with the Chungking government. Coming in the wake of the renewed breakdown of negotiations between Chungking and Yenan, Wedemeyer's statement, if it embodies official United States policy, actually seems to amount to American intervention in favor of the undemocratic, dictatorial regime of General Chiang Kai-shek as against the other China which represents political and economic progress.

But on March 9, New York *Times* correspondent C. L. Sulzberger reported from Moscow that a request of the Yenan government "to turn over to it huge stocks of arms and munitions captured by American forces from the Japanese to enable Yenan troops and guerrillas to increase their activity against Japan's occupying forces in China . . . was heartily accepted by the United States." It is reported, Sulzberger continued, "that the United States has strongly urged General Chiang to agree to permitting such shipments, but has been met only with refusals." Not only former Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss and General Stilwell, but also Major General Patrick J. Hurley, the present Ambassador, "recently and with a similar lack of success sought to arrange a formula by which the captured Japanese stocks could be put to use."

If Sulzberger's report is correct—and it has not been officially denied—it suggests that while the United States would like to deal impartially with all parties, it will find it extremely difficult to carry water on both shoulders. If Chiang Kai-shek is influential enough to defy the American wish to help Yenan's armies in the war against Japan, his uncompromising stand may cost the lives of thousands of American soldiers in the future. And while the positive correlative of this policy—American troops fighting Chinese Communist forces—has not yet materialized, such an outcome seems probable when American armies land on the Chinese coast in areas held by the Communists, or when they advance into Communist-controlled territory.

Continued appeasement of Chiang Kai-shek may also have serious international repercussions. The entry of the Soviet Union into the Far Eastern war is now expected. Recent attacks on the Chungking government in the Soviet press indicate where the Soviet Union's sympathies lie. This has given fresh encouragement to the Chinese Communists. When on March 1 Chiang Kai-shek announced that he would convene a national assembly of all parties for next November, his promise was received with skepticism among foreign observers and with great hostility in Communist circles. A Communist spokesman denounced the assembly as a "national congress of slaves." Openly suggesting for the first time since 1937 that Chiang ought to be ousted from China's leadership, the Communist spokesman demanded that Chiang should "be sacked and punished and replaced by a Chinese officer who has gained merit in armed resistance, appointed by a commission organized by the people." Chiang's proposed assembly is apparently stillborn.

The best way of avoiding civil war in China before the victorious conclusion of the war against Japan would be the appointment of a Supreme Allied Commander in the Chinese theatre, with sufficient authority to deploy all Allied forces—American, British, Chungking and Yenan—as he sees fit. This would hardly help to settle China's internal political conflicts, but it would have the immediate advantage of preventing that conflict from weakening China's war effort against Japan. That this commander cannot be General Chiang Kai-shek, but must be an American or, in case the Soviet Union enters the war, a Russian officer, seems obvious. United States policy in China should insist on the need for Chiang's stepping down as "generalissimo."

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Hansen on World Trade

ALVIN H. HANSEN is clearly America's number-one policy economist. His recent book[1] on international economics is the first of his many works to be leveled directly at the intelligent, non-professional public. A slim volume without diagrams or detailed footnotes, it can, and will, be read on train rides between New York and Washington or on plane hops from Lisbon to London. There has been no shortage of books on international problems lately, but none so important as this has appeared.

It consists of three parts: Part I, a brief introductory discussion of our vital stake in international economic security and world peace; Part II, a bird's-eye view of the numerous international economic organizations which all of us have to read about in the papers but can never quite remember; and Part III, the interrelations between international trade and employment.

A decade ago when the New Deal was young, it was fashionable to emphasize the clash between domestic and international policy goals. According to Hansen, there is no such antagonism, and despite its title, the book is almost as much concerned with problems of domestic full employment as with international economic relations. Like Cato on Carthage, at the end of each topic Hansen reiterates: The greatest contribution the United States can make to a sound and prosperous structure of international trade is to put its own house in order, to maintain a high level of national income and employment.

The United States, usurping Turkey's nineteenth-century role, is the modern sick old man of Europe. Least able of all nations, old or new, to stave off deep depression or capricious business instability, we begin to appear to the rest of the world like a fascinating, infectious economic leper, which unfortunately cannot be quarantined. The dynamic, high productivity of our industries forces the foreigner to buy our exports almost against his will, while at the same time, as the decade of the thirties illustrates so well, our low national income combines with our normal antipathy against imports to keep our purchases from him small. As a result we are constantly deflating the rest of the world except for intermittent, frenetic periods of foreign lending. In the past we should have done even more harm were it not for our quite arational willingness to accept one import freely—gold.

It is a commonplace to say that the United States must cease being a bad neighbor, must recognize its changed status as a creditor nation by lowering barriers to imports, and must begin to coöperate internationally. But as Hansen points out, such policies will never be politically feasible if there is an insufficiency of effective demand at home. Unfortunately, the businessman's crude mercantilistic protectionism and export imperialism makes some sense from one country's point of view if the only alternative is unemployment. It is no accident that the great depression ushered in the most intensive period of international warfare, exchange control, import quotas and exchange depreciation. Of course, these beggar-my-neighbor policies, when practised by every nation, leave them all worse off. Nevertheless, if the peace results in widespread unemployment, the Schachts will beat out the Hulls, hands down.

In some American quarters, exaggerated hopes are being entertained as to the amount of stimulus the American economy will receive from postwar international trade. At a first approximation, only the excess balance of exports over imports adds to domestic employment; it is not likely that this will amount to more than $2 or $3 billion annually. Nor should it. It would be anomalous for the most powerful economy in the world to try to win employment at the expense of those nations which have been hardest hit by the war—particularly Britain. Realistically, in our own long-run interest, we should not seek to expand exports for our own employment but to provide relief and rehabilitation or long-term capital development abroad. These activities will expand our employment; but if well devised, they will help rather than hurt employment abroad.

If the United States is the world's sick old man, then Britain may well be its problem child. Before the war she held investments all over the world, enabling her to finance imports in excess of her exports. Now her net-creditor position is gone, her shipping primacy seriously challenged, and she is heavily in debt to the Empire. Even to maintain her prewar standard of living she must double her prewar exports.

It is easy for us to speak in one breath of "brave little Britain" who stood between us and the Axis, and in the next of the necessity to abolish all forms of exchange control or discriminatory commodity pricing everywhere. We do not face an adverse balance of trade which makes us poor in real terms and limits our freedom to adopt expansionary policies necessary for full employment. Can Britain really be blamed if she retains some of the wartime direct controls on international trade, especially if America does not back the Bretton Woods proposals? After all, what Britain wants is precisely what the rest of the world will have too much of—foodstuffs and primary staples. Why should she not use her buying power to get these at reduced terms rather than have them burnt up, plowed under

[1] *America's Role in the World Economy*, by Alvin H. Hansen. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 197 pages. $2.50.

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or aborted? On this question, as on the gold-purchase problem or international commodity agreements and cartels, Hansen takes a realistic stand. Makeshift arrangements are not so good as other alternatives, but they may be better than nothing; and their origins need not be accidental or simply the outcome of ignorance and cussedness.

Of the half-dozen-odd international organizations conveniently described and appraised in Part II, primary interest naturally attaches to the two Bretton Woods proposals, the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The Bank is probably the more important of the two. It is also the easier to understand.

When a government or private corporation wishes to borrow in the markets of another country, it applies to the International Bank for a guarantee. The Bank examines the purpose for which the loan is to be made, and determines whether or not it is a good risk. If it is thought to be sound, then the Bank guarantees the loan for a small fee of one and a half percent. Any security with the Bank's guarantee has the backing of all the participating nations, and will naturally possess gilt-edge qualities. It will find a ready market at low rates of interest. Thus, the flow of international private lending is increased.

It is to be expected that most of the international loans will be floated in the United States, since we have the most surplus savings. But under no circumstances will our investors—or even our government—be left holding the bag, except to the extent of our quota of the capital subscribed for the Bank.

The Bank can also make loans on its own account but primarily it will serve to encourage private lending, especially in fields where credit is not already available. Since private international lending has been dead for a decade, it is clear that the banking community would be acting like dogs in the manger if they opposed it, or more accurately, they would be cutting off their noses to spite their faces. Since bankers have not in the past always recognized the noses on their faces, it would not be impossible for them to oppose the Bank even against their own interests. But in point of fact, they are rather in favor of the Bank, reserving their fire for the International Monetary Fund.

It must be confessed that in opposing the Fund, they do so like Dr. Johnson's agnostic dog, without ever having thought the matter through. The notion that a banker understands money or finance is a quaint one which will not stand up under empirical observation. A barber can discuss as cogently whether or not banks create money, while from time immemorial economic sophomores have had a field day at the expense of bankers' writings. It is for this reason that bankers always employ hack economists to serve as their triggermen and ghost-writers.

Admittedly, the operations of the Fund are not easy to understand. Hansen describes them in detail so that any interested reader can learn what the Fund is all about. In addition, he patiently discusses the criticisms that have been made against the Fund, incidentally improving on the formulation of many of them. Primarily these criticisms are to be read for laughs. With a few exceptions, the Fund is placed in a cross-fire of arguments, the validity of one invalidating the other. The Fund is too large; the fund will not be used. It should have "100-percent reserves"; it should have followed the original Keynes *clearing* plan. The Fund authorities will have no power; national sovereignty will be infringed. The Fund will provide too many United States dollars; it will create a shortage of United States dollars; and so on, *ad nauseam*. Unfortunately, this sort of double-talk forces the defenders of the Fund to look both ways at once. The British people who oppose the Fund because it smacks too much of the old gold standard must be placated at the same time that we slip a wink to the American financier and assure him that "there is a definite place for gold in the Fund."

Hansen avoids such antics. If anything, he is much too gentle in his treatment of what is thought to be the most devastating argument against the Fund—the so-called Key Kurrency approach. Perhaps professional courtesy is involved. Apart from fribbling banalities and caliginous cabalism, what does this doctrine really come to? I have studied it assiduously to no avail and must find balm in the fact that even the omniscient editors of *Time* fare no better.

Hansen is an economist, not a political sage. Nevertheless, few will disagree with his emphasis in the early chapters on "how dreadfully near we came, not once but several times, to the brink of disaster" in our struggle with fascism. Our disillusionment with World War I blinded us to the necessities of international *political* action, when perhaps we should have known better. In the international *economic* sphere there were equally grave breakdowns after the First World War: "Price fluctuations in all countries, inflation in Germany and France, a persistent core of unemployment in England, increasing disequilibrium in the primary producing countries, boom and depression in the United States . . manifestations of economic unbalance all over the world."

Here, at least, we had the excuse that we knew no better. ". . . The great industrial nations did not under-

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stand and were wholly unprepared to face the economic problems of the postwar world." Statesmen and politicians cannot be blamed for not knowing what even the so-called expert economists never suspected—that the beliefs, conventions, shibboleths and policies which constituted sound orthodox political economy before the First World War were already obsolete in 1914 and were to do incalculable harm in the postwar period. To our sorrow, we all know better now, even the politicians. If we botch up our domestic and international policies this time, ignorance cannot be offered as an excuse.

Hansen himself illustrates beautifully the painful process by which the economist divested himself of old misconceptions and inched laboriously toward a better comprehension of economic reality. Trained just before the First World War, he began to stand out among American business-cycle theorists in the decade of the twenties. Toward the end of that "new era" there grew up the belief that the business cycle was gone forever and even Hansen thought that the business cycle represented simply the growing pains of the capitalistic system and might be expected to disappear in the years ahead; as may be seen in his *Business Cycle Theory* (1927). In light of his present views, it is interesting to read the neanderthal Hansen's charmingly final judgment on the great nineteenth-century debate between Ricardo, the orthodox classical economist who believed that supply created its own demand, making overproduction impossible, and Malthus, the Anglican clergyman of population fame, who urged obscurely what is now the modern point of view. "The Say-Ricardo school [was] fundamentally sound . . . the Lauderdale-Malthus-Sismondi is logically untenable to anyone who will take the pains to think the problem through to the end."

Possessing that quality, rare among academic persons beyond the age of thirty, of being able to change his mind, Hansen became one of the most important contributors to the revolutionary innovations in thought associated with the name of Keynes. The revolution is in economic theory; the new doctrines themselves are profoundly capitalistic in nature. After reading this book, every intelligent reader will know which are the true friends of the enterprise system: Keynes or Hayek, Ruml or Queeny, Stuart Chase or Carl Snyder, Alvin Hansen or Henry Simons.

PAUL A. SAMUELSON

Kilowatts for the Lamps of China

IF YOU CAN IMAGINE diverting the Mississippi River into the Grand Canyon, throwing a dam across the Grand Canyon, constructing gigantic power developments that make Boulder Dam and Grand Coulee look like mudpies, and putting the whole affair down in a teeming, energetic, hand-loom civilization that comprises 140 million people within a 300-mile radius, then you have a rough concept of the proposal that John Lucian Savage has brought back with him from China and that has fascinated such diverse people as Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Donald Nelson, Pat Hurley and Henry Kaiser.

The plan, in brief, is to build a billion-dollar dam across the torrential Yangtze River, fourth largest in the world, which drains central China just where it emerges from its tremendous gorges. John Lucian Savage, or "Jack" Savage, the world's greatest authority on dam design, who has just returned from six months' inspection of the site, says it can be done. Savage designed Grand Coulee, Boulder and 60 other dams, the sum total reaching an estimated billion dollars. His word carries more weight on dam construction today than that of any other man on earth. He is the modern Cheops. He says the Chinese project—the "Ichang Dam"—is feasible. Furthermore, he says that the net product of electricity would be incredibly cheap per unit.

Mr. Savage is wholly disinterested. He is the big, blue-eyed, slow-spoken, self-effacing, chief designing engineer of the United States Bureau of Reclamation. His reputation is so high that the State Department has taken to loaning him out, as consultant and good-will ambassador, to Allied countries; his latest trip took him to the governments of India, Afghanistan, China and Palestine. Many other nations seek his services.

The Ichang Dam scheme isn't merely "big." It is so big that it may affect history. Assuming American capital should finance the thing, here are possible consequences. It would:

1. Start China's industrialization.
2. Make China dominant in the Far East.
3. Stake out, and peg down, American interests in China.
4. Keep Schenectady working 24 hours a day for the next 24 years.
5. Indissolubly link the United States by commercial ties to world affairs.
6. Give a specific, ABC example of how American money invested abroad makes jobs at home.

The arresting fact about the Ichang Dam is that no other nation but the United States is today capable either of finding the money, or the machines, necessary to build it. It is with that knowledge that you must approach the whole question.

In a long life of engineering Mr. Savage has seen or studied most of the big rivers of the world. This is his

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verdict: "With the possible exception of some tributary of the Amazon, this is, beyond all question in my personal experience, the greatest single potential source of hydro power in the world today."

Let me summarize estimated possibilities:

Power: Ultimate capacity, 10,500,000 kilowatts; or five times present installed capacity of Boulder Dam and Grand Coulee combined (2,353,800 kilowatts).

Cost of Power: Savage says a "conservative" estimate is $89 a kilowatt, compared to $115 at Grand Coulee.

Flood Control: Would moderate or end the devastating annual central China floods.

Irrigation: Would provide water and probably double crop production on 10 million acres in food-deficient China (Grand Coulee waters only a million acres); would store 50 million acre-feet of water (Boulder stores only 32 million acre-feet).

Transportation: Would permit 10,000-ton ships to come up to Chungking, Chinese capital, 650 miles inland.

In brief, while the initial cost of curbing the Yangtze would be vast, the consequent benefits would be vaster. History shows that where profitable physical possibilities exist, like Suez or Panama, one nation or another, sooner or later, is apt to take advantage of them. The Yangtze project is, of course, far and away the most audacious proposal that has ever been advanced for a big river.

Jack Savage has nothing to do with financing the scheme and technically, at any rate, his work ends with the authoritative declaration, based on preliminary survey, that it is feasible—and probably profitable.

Mr. Savage saw the site almost by accident. Through the State Department he was loaned to the governments of India and China for six months apiece. Chinese engineers hesitantly suggested that he might be asked to look at the Yangtze, but the idea was put aside by the government as something that the fabulous visiting American would regard as absurd. Almost as an afterthought—after he had examined and reported on half a dozen minor flood-control, irrigation and power projects—Savage was brought to Ichang, east of Chungking, to see for himself. Computations and surveys with the data available confirmed a first impression that this was probably the greatest untapped source of river power in the world. The walls of the great gorge form a natural site for a dam at the point where the river pours out into the lower plains of Asia.

How do you go about damming the world's fourth longest river? First of all, you must reroute it.

At Boulder Dam, Savage found it necessary to build four huge 50-foot-diameter tunnels, to sluice off the river while the dam rose. For the Yangtze, 20 such tunnels would be necessary.

When the dam is completed, an additional four tunnels would be added. Each of these would have installed inside it—deep within the dark mountain gorge, out of range of bombs, airplanes or gunfire—four power units of Grand Coulee size (biggest in the world) and each capable of delivering 110,000 kilowatts. The total 96 units would develop 10,560,000 kilowatts. In addition, Savage says 2,500,000 extra kilowatts could be developed on tributaries. The dam itself would rise 500 feet or so in the gorge, or approximately to the height of the Washington Monument.

When Jack Savage made known his conclusions, Donald Nelson, then in China, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek were fascinated. Already, I am told, the mere conception of the Ichang Dam is lifting the morale of Chinese officials and forming a dream, or rallying cry, for future national aspirations. The goal is so tremendous that, like the Russian five-year plan, it lifts men's hearts. This is China's "five-year plan" in one project.

I have talked with Donald Nelson, and found him excited by the thought of turning plentiful, cheap, hydro power loose in hard-working, handicraft China. He watched Chinese workers make great airfields for the Allies, all but cracking the rocks with bare knuckles. He watched singing coolies carrying water up the steep 500-foot steps of Chungking, suspended in buckets on either end of bending bamboos. Nelson came away with one thought: the Chinese are one of the most adaptable, merry, hard-working races on earth; if they have achieved what they have without machines, what could they do with a little electricity?

Henry Kaiser is another person who knows about the Ichang Dam. He tells me he is already interested in it. He has long known Jack Savage, for the Kaiser group of companies had excavation contracts for some of the biggest of Savage's American dams. The Ichang Dam would need cement, and Kaiser might be interested in installing machinery, and other operations. He's watching it.

But how would a billion-dollar dam be financed? Jack Savage has nothing to do with that, and the Bureau of Reclamation and the State Department hastily explain that this is outside their province. The Administration is absolutely uncommitted officially on the Ichang Dam.

The Ichang Dam may very well serve as a testing ground to see whether postwar machinery for world finance is going to be able to meet the problems of peace. In the past, British loans to China have been guaranteed by taking over immense concessions, and the control of parts of great cities, like Hong Kong. What postwar arrangement could the capitalists make—under the proposed new International Bank, say—to construct a useful, immense undertaking like the Ichang Dam, without either risking their own necks or mortgaging China's future at exorbitant interest rates? Has civilization reached a point where such an arrangement is possible?

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It is part of a Reclamation Bureau engineer's duties not only to decide whether and where a dam can be built, but also to make certain calculations about the time required, and the possible return. If the Ichang project, properly financed, were started on a top-speed basis, Mr. Savage hazards the guess that all civil engineering work and 20 percent of power capacity could be completed in "6 or 7 years." As to the financial returns, they are considerably more tentative. However, one preliminary estimate is that the billion-dollar dam could be amortized on a self-liquidating basis in half a century, from proper revenues on power, irrigation, flood control and navigation—in that order. Assuming full utilization, the dam would ultimately pay expenses, plus a profit of, perhaps, $153 million a year.

I asked Mr. Nelson what a nation with a handicraft civilization could possibly do with vast amounts of electric power. Nelson is no visionary, any more than is Kaiser, and can see plenty of difficulties in the way. But for one thing, the power could be utilized for cheap fertilizer, which could be used, or exported, all over the Orient; and he also sees for China a role of exporter of such commodities as low-grade textiles throughout the Far East. He expects no overnight revolution, but the gradual industrialization of China seems to him both inevitable and desirable.

Jack Savage is a big, shy, gentle man, with a tanned complexion and an outdoor look. He has been in government service for 42 years. Such a man, in Russia, would probably be known to every schoolchild as the designer of the world's greatest dams; in America he is almost unknown, though his name will be recognized a thousand years hence on cornerstones of mighty structures. If he had gone into business for himself, with his own company, he would probably now be many times a millionaire, for nations today are frankly bidding for his services. Actually, he receives a yearly salary of $8,750. He is satisfied, simply because he is interested in dams, not dollars—and prefers to work for the public. When people condemn "bureaucrats," I think of Savage. He is a widower, childless, and loves children; twenty or thirty Chinese kids played with him near his Chungking workshop. In a lifetime he has devised things engineers said couldn't be done—for example, the artificial cooling system that made Boulder Dam possible, now used universally by the craft. I often think what a success story he would make for Hollywood, with all those gigantic dams to his credit—Shasta, Friant, Boulder, Coulee, Wheeler, Norris and the rest—each a curbed river. But would Hollywood understand a success story based on $8,750? It wouldn't buy a good script.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

What Britain Wants from Us

BRITAIN, we have seen, will need to export goods worth at least half again as much as she sold abroad before the war if she is to keep her present population alive. She will have to export more than that to sustain a fully employed population at a higher standard of living. There is confidence in England that the job can be done, provided the United States coöperates instead of following a policy of deliberate or inadvertent obstruction. Exactly what is it that she wants from us, and exactly what is it that she does not want?

There is an impression in this country that since a large part of the trouble arises from loss of British foreign investments and the accumulation of what amounts to a war debt, we could help, at least in the transitional period, by lending or even by giving money. This opinion rests on a total misunderstanding of the policy of the British. They do not want to get further into debt, but to get out of it. They fear gifts, and dislike any suggestion that gifts have been or ought to be made. (They would except, of course, relief for the stalled economies of Europe, but even in this case they would agree with far-sighted persons everywhere that it is more important to get these economies on their feet again than to dole out charity.) They want to earn their way, and they want to start doing it the moment any effort and resources can be diverted from the defeat of Germany and Japan.

Lend-Lease is a good example of a policy which has been officially explained in both countries by the same words but is regarded differently against the background of different experiences. How many Americans know that in spite of full appreciation of what this country has done in producing and distributing war materials, Lend-Lease has given rise to a good deal of irritation in England? It is regarded as a necessary war burden, to be dropped as soon as possible. Strange as this attitude may seem, it is natural when its basis is understood.

During the days of cash-and-carry, Britain was straining every nerve to enlarge exports in order to help pay for war materials from abroad. This effort, of course, interfered with full military mobilization. There was grave danger that Germany would win the war, and the danger came to be regarded with almost as much apprehension in the United States as in England. By the establishment of Lend-Lease, our government said in effect to Britain's, if you will mobilize everything to win instead of worrying about payment for what you must import, we will see that you get whatever you need from us without any detailed reckoning. Pay-

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ment will be made by whatever you can contribute to our needs without endangering military success, plus your all-out war effort.

This was a bargain in the mutual interest. We were no more presenting to Britain munitions and supplies than she was presenting to us the lives of her sons or the sacrifices of her civilian population. The bargain has been scrupulously kept on both sides. It is pertinent to the subject of this article that one of Britain's contributions to the common cause was almost complete suppression of her export trade, at least for the duration.

At this point enters the source of irritation. American business interests, having noted the British pushing of exports during the cash-and-carry period, and being as always suspicious of trade rivals, made a row about Lend-Lease because they feared that something we sent to Britain would be reëxported. To still this agitation, the British government established a rule that nothing could be exported from Britain which was being received from the United States under Lend-Lease. The rule applied not only to the actual goods received, but to anything of the same kind made in England. Thus, as long as Britain received any steel, she could not export steel, even if it was made in British furnaces. The restriction seems fair enough, in view of the purpose of the bargain. It is, however, one which makes the British want to cease receiving Lend-Lease materials the moment any surplus appears above war necessities. Their impatience with the restriction is redoubled by the fact that while they are forbidden to export, American businessmen are not, or so they believe.

In fact, war orders in the United States have preëmpted the productive capacity for export goods to a far greater extent than is generally understood in England. But there is a widespread credence of reports, both verbal and printed, that while Britain is concentrated on war and is excluded from foreign export markets by Lend-Lease, American commercial representatives are going about the world taking orders for postwar delivery. It looks to many as if we not only were planning to be commercial rivals, as is to be expected, but as if we were quite ready to engage in what is regarded as unfair competition.

Another situation of the same kind exists with regard to civil aviation. A more complete mutual misunderstanding has seldom arisen between friendly peoples. Aside from the technical details of the five freedoms of the air, the issue was presented to Americans chiefly as one between free competition and private monopoly. We wanted competition, in the interest of service to the public. Britain wanted what looked like an arbitrary sharing of traffic which might be inconvenient as well as more costly. The British, on the other hand, were chiefly impressed by what looked like American eagerness to profit from a temporary British disadvantage arising from willingness to coöperate for war. By agreement, their aircraft manufacture had been concentrated on fighters, leaving to us most of the production of bombers and transport planes. We were operating far-flung military transport lines. Under unlimited postwar competition, we would therefore be all ready to jump in and establish commercial air supremacy before they had adapted their industry to peacetime requirements. They wished to reserve for themselves what they regarded as a fair division of the traffic, and we refused to agree.

This disagreement was a damper on the spirits of Britishers from extreme Right to extreme Left, including the most ardent friends of the United States. It must be remembered that almost no Englishman believes in competition in air transport, railroads or public utilities. The differences between Left and Right concern how the system shall be regulated or owned. Laborites want public ownership of air lines—international ownership for international lines, national for those within their boundaries—just as they want nationalization of the railways. Conservatives want a continuation of the policy of "the chosen instrument"—which means a private company closely associated with the government and under its control. Competition on international airways means to both groups competition among nations. It will mean that in fact, since virtually all nations except the United States follow the British practice. If Americans, Englishmen thought, cannot come to an agreement with us to avoid economic hostility in such a simple issue as this, what hope is there for more difficult problems? The British are now getting ready to compete with us, and they believe they can do so successfully. But they look more carefully at our concrete behavior in instances like this than at our generalities about international coöperation.

Shipping is another potential sore spot. We have built many new ships capable of efficient operation in peace. The British have barely made up their submarine losses. Disregarding passenger liners, which have long been subsidized directly or indirectly, British dominance in merchant marine has been due largely to less expensive construction and operation than this country can achieve. We shall be at the usual disadvantage after this war unless we subsidize our merchant ships. There is a strong movement for doing so. But competitive subsidies by national governments do not constitute coöperation. What, in this realm, has become of our cherished dogma of private competition? And what are the British to think of a nation which appears to be ready to use its enormous wealth in order to deprive them, at uneconomic costs, of an important part of their export income?

Other areas of friction might be enumerated. They are not all so important as these, and most of them are probably inherently capable of being adjusted without undue hostility. There is, however, a single point of

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view by which leaders of British thought are inclined to judge them all.

They do not expect American businessmen out of generosity to efface themselves from world commerce in order that the British may survive. They are perfectly willing to run the risks of the marketplace, wherever free markets exist, and to negotiate with us in a friendly spirit about controls, where controls are thought desirable. They have no objection whatever to an expansion of our exports, no matter how large that expansion may be, provided we are willing to take an equal value of goods and services in exchange, either at the time or subsequently. To take payment subsequently means, of course, that we finance exports at the time by foreign loans and investments which are capable of being repaid, and repayment of which we will accept. As long as our foreign trade is balanced, an expansion of our exports means an expansion of our imports, too, and that means in turn larger sales for British exports, either directly to us or to other nations from whom we buy.

What the British fear is that we shall try, as we have done for many years in the past, to export without accepting payment for all we sell. That was a normal procedure before the last war, when we were a debtor nation. Now that we are no longer paying debts to foreigners, it can be done only by giving our goods and services away. And when we give them away, we spoil Britain's export markets. This is unfair competition of the same kind which is practised within a country by a great private monopoly when it puts the small fry out of business by selling below its costs.

How do we give away goods or services abroad, in the ordinary course of events? There are many ways, some obvious, some subtle. We can do it by governmental subsidies of shipping or of exports of wheat and cotton. We can do it by financing our exports with loans, when the country to which we lend cannot produce a surplus for export large enough so that the loans can be repaid, or when our tariffs are so high as to shut out what it does produce. We can do it by making presents of government property to export industries—as in the disposal of war plants or equipment at uneconomically low prices. All of these methods we have used and seem likely to use again.

Why should we want to give goods away—except for relief purposes? Here lies the dramatic contrast between our situation and that of the British. Their national need to export is a direct consequence of their need to buy abroad. They are suffering, and fear that they will continue to suffer, from a deficiency of goods. But we fear that we can produce more than we can find means of distributing to our own population. If we are to have a deliberate national policy of giving away exports, it will be because we think we cannot otherwise fully employ our factories and farms, and the men and women who work in them. We shall then, as the British say, be exporting unemployment. They see no moral justification for such behavior.

It is up to us, they believe, to solve our unemployment problem at home, as they plan to solve theirs. That may involve drastic readjustments in the nature of our production, or in our distribution of income, or in our public fiscal policy, or in our tariff, or in all these things and more besides. But it is absurd to assume that a nation must permanently produce more than it consumes in order to save its people from want. There is, in the long run, no escape from tackling any necessary internal readjustments. If we avoid the necessity for a while by giving away our surplus, the reckoning will be all the more severe, for we shall ruin the rest of the world in the process, provided it continues to consent to accept our charity.

In other words, *what the British economists really want us to do most of all is to maintain full employment in the United States, by means of distributing to our own people the highest level of living which we are capable of producing*. This does not mean, I repeat, that they want us not to export, or not to increase our exports. It does mean that as far as we do export, they want us to take as much in exchange as we send out. Altogether, that does not seem an unreasonable desire. Nor does it seem to bode us any ill.

Another way to put the same conclusion is that it will be relatively easy for the British to increase their exports 50 percent or more, and for us to increase our exports at the same time, provided world trade as a whole expands 50 percent or more. And the greatest possible push in this direction would be supplied by full employment in Britain and the United States, combined with willingness of the citizens of these nations to buy abroad as much as they sell. Britain has given a pledge to maintain full employment, and eagerly wishes to buy abroad as much as she can. She would like us to do the same. The purchases of prosperous populations of these two great countries, which before the war accounted for one-quarter of international trade, would be the prime mover to bring expansion of world trade.

Leaders of British thought want one more thing from us, closely allied to the desire noted above. *They want us, having achieved full employment at a high standard of living, to maintain it steadily instead of having a great depression*, as we did last time. Many economists believe that the worldwide depression beginning in 1929 originated in the United States. There is much to be said for this view. Whether or not it is correct, there is no doubt that the rest of the world cannot be prosperous if the United States is depressed. At least it cannot be prosperous in so far as it belongs to the same economic enclave. Our wealth and purchasing power are too huge not to be of commanding importance.

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It might be more accurate reporting to write, not that Britain urges us to achieve these two positive aims, but that she is mortally afraid we shall not do so. Even the Roosevelt Administration has not been too sure of itself in internal postwar planning. Congress can almost be counted upon not to understand an economic philosophy of this kind, and to wreck its execution in general and in detail. Traditionalism is strong among bankers and businessmen. Vested interests seeking their own advantage in subsidies and tariffs are voluble. Even many academic economists are still living in the fairyland of an automatically self-regulating private enterprise.

After the last war business was dominant, and we let things take their course. We had a sharp inflation and deflation. We lent money abroad recklessly to increase our exports, and insisted on payment of war debts, while at the same time we raised tariffs against imports. We led world recovery for a few years by a boom in building, automobiles, radio. We did marvels in increasing productivity per labor hour. We were, indeed, so proud of our economy that we expected the boom to last forever. Instead of being prepared against its collapse, we let it overflow into fantastic speculation.

The British, who shared many of our illusions at the time, believe they have learned something from this experience. They are not at all sure that we have done so. Too many of the noises from this side of the Atlantic sound as if we were now preparing to accept a new version of Harding "normalcy." Scarcely a day goes by without a declaration by some important person that governmental intervention must cease at the earliest possible moment and that we must rest our future in the hands of private enterprise under a regime of competition (which is far less prevalent now than it was in 1920).

I think a more hopeful case could be made out for us than the British have recently heard. It is not true, because we have not laid out our future course in a neat series of governmental white papers, that much thinking has not been going on in places of power and influence. But I do not blame them for being nervous about the prospect, in view of its critical importance for them.

It is essential for us to understand that what they want most from us is what the majority of American citizens want most for themselves. It is also essential for us to understand that their fear of our possible tailspin may lead them to adopt policies which will make economic coöperation between the two nations extremely difficult. For they are resolved, if necessary, to defend themselves in every possible way against the consequences of failure on our part to be good economic neighbors. How this shapes their thinking and may shape their policy will be summarized in the next article.

GEORGE SOULE

Kremlin and Vatican

THE RUSSIAN WINTER OFFENSIVE in the intermittent propaganda war between Kremlin and Vatican opened on December 31, 1944, with a savage attack by *Pravda* on the Pope's Christmas message: "If the Hitlerite barbarians found no word of blame in the Pope's message, then there is something else—the Pope's main attack was directed against the broad masses of people and their demands for real democracy." *Osservatore Romano*, Vatican newspaper, replied a few days later quoting a Papal statement that "Catholicism embraces all nations, that the love and the solicitude of the Vicar of Christ does not exclude but belongs equally to the love of all in the charity of Christ."

The next shot was fired by *Red Star*, Soviet army paper, on February 7: "The Vatican's anti-Soviet campaign on the Polish question is being carried on by the Catholic press in England and the United States. The Vatican's policy in Italy has been taken as a precedent for expanding it in Germany, Austria and, farther east, over Hungary and Poland." Two days later, the Moscow radio broadcast a statement of the Russian Orthodox Church accusing the Vatican of attempting "to absolve Hitler Germany from responsibility for all the abominable deeds she has committed." *Osservatore Romano* replied to *Red Star's* attack on February 10, saying that "There is no element of foundation in what has been referred to . . . . Instead, here is a system of invention by means of fantastic arguments, of vilifying and wounding, still at its apex." Two days later, an editorial in *Quotidiano*, Catholic Action paper, counter-attacked the Orthodox Church: "The Church of Rome in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkans represents freedom of the spirit. It represents an obstacle to dictatorship. Hence it must be fought. Moscow intends to make use of 'her' church for gigantic imperialistic aims." But on February 13, *Osservatore Romano* adopted a mild tone toward Russia, saying that the recent attacks represented only "an episode, although certainly the most conspicuous and most painful, in the campaign of attack and denigration against the Holy See."

On February 17, an editorial in *Osservatore Romano* denied a Moscow radio broadcast that "the Vatican is not contented with the results of the Crimea Conference because it was not invited to participate in the conference itself." Therefore, the paper declared, "in this case also, it is a question of pure and simple calumny." But on March 10 Moscow renewed its criticism of the Vatican, this time with a sharp and bitter article in the official government paper, *Izvestia*. Referring to a statement in behalf of the anti-Soviet Poles by Bernard Griffin, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the paper said that prominent members of the Catholic Church were meddling in mundane matters

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outside their jurisdiction in an effort "to mend their crumbling affairs by means of certain political combinations."

What is behind these altercations? Do they conceal a possible rapprochement between Kremlin and Vatican? The evidence is small. It was first suggested in an article by Don Luigi Sturzo, the Catholic leader, published in the Roman weekly *Cosmopolità* of February 10: "If Moscow desires to exchange diplomatic representatives with the Vatican despite divergencies and hesitations, the Vatican would not refuse, nor would it impose unacceptable conditions." On March 10 the Rome radio, according to an AP dispatch, said that "Vatican circles had authoritatively confirmed that there had been American attempts to bring about a rapprochement between Russia and the Vatican." The New York *Times* reported on March 11 that "both the Vatican and left-wing circles in Rome are talking more and more of reports of a possible rapprochement between the Vatican and Moscow and the visit of Edward J. Flynn to Rome is eagerly awaited." But on the same day the AP carried a denial by the Vatican press office that negotiations were in progress for an accord between the Holy See and Soviet Russia.

In spite of the Vatican denial, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Holy See is likely. Although the Catholic Church cannot be expected to deviate from its anti-Communist policy in ideological matters, the Vatican as a worldly power has never let theoretical principles stand in its way when it came to maintaining the Church's influence over Catholic masses in countries whose political system was obnoxious to the Catholic religion. If the Vatican refused to recognize the reality of Soviet power in Eastern Europe, it would lose that influence. On the other hand, the Kremlin's present foreign and domestic policy is also determined less by considerations of principle than of power. Just as Moscow has made its peace with the capitalist nations of the West, it can make its peace with the Vatican. It is probably anxious to do so. With the annexation of Lithuania and the former east Polish provinces, Roman Catholicism has now become the second largest denomination in the Soviet Union. The Kremlin is as much interested in gaining the loyalty of the Catholic masses in these areas as the Vatican is in preserving its spiritual control.

If both sides in the current controversy have not minced words in attacking each other, it is not only because both Kremlin and Vatican are eager to save face, but also because they appreciate the advantages of an aggressive diplomacy if compromise becomes necessary. Another reason, of course, is that both Kremlin and Vatican are competing to obtain the sympathy of the European masses. In many liberated countries the popular Catholic parties, less obsessed by the spectre of communism than the Catholic hierarchy, are cooperating with the Socialists and the Communists. That the Vatican has accepted this development as unavoidable, appears from the Pope's recent pledge in favor of the world labor cause and socialization if circumstances warrant it. It also seems to be another overture for an understanding with Moscow.

HEINZ EULAU

The Chapultepec Conference

AT THE Chapultepec Conference, two important problems were raised which overshadow its successful accomplishments. One concerns the northern republic, the other its southern neighbors. First, can the United States use its power in friendly coöperation rather than in developing a new style of imperialism? Second, can the Latin American republics, realistically recognizing the dominant place of their northern neighbor, maintain their own national dignity and self-expression?

The unusual absence of fundamental divisions at this meeting, so different in this respect from all others, is a matter for rejoicing. But if it means that the United States, as one of the Big Three, is now beginning to assume dominance in its sphere of influence, as the British and the Russians are expected to do in theirs, then the present happy state may not end so delightfully as it begins. At Mexico City there was demonstrated for the first time the tremendous responsibilities assumed by an overwhelmingly powerful country which its neighbors cannot afford to challenge.

From the opening to the closing session, the meeting at Mexico City was different from all other Pan American meetings. Elaborate banquets were as conspicuous by their absence as were Latin American blocs out to oppose Yankee imperialism. The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Ezequiel Padilla, for the first time in the history of Pan Americanism, discussed in his opening address as president of the Conference, not the ideals of Bolivar and the political problems of the continent, but the need for raising the living standards of the common man. "What is it that America expects of this conference?" demanded Señor Padilla. "It expects practical resolutions that will alleviate its misery. . . . The Western Hemisphere contains over 30 million square kilometers of frustrated lives. If democracy is not an impostor, it will offer safe, steady work, decent homes for the people, schools, hospitals, and above all, economic security not based on dictatorship and slavery, but on true liberty, fair distribution of goods and social justice for all people." The Conference later voted to designate this new Pan American emphasis on the needs

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THE DILEMMA OF THE ORDINARY MAN

With the twentieth century the ordinary man stepped into history. . . . His present position is, therefore, a dangerous one for him. He is charged with the responsibility for events, but not with the power to shape them. . . . At each election, power passes to the people, and each time they pass it back again to the same people who held it before. The ordinary man is, therefore, in a double peril. He accepts the responsibility for government but denies himself the power to exercise it. Up to the twentieth century he was the drudge of history. He is now the scapegoat as well. His fault consists in not assuming the power which alone can give meaning to the responsibility which political democracy confers upon him. In the past the ordinary man was a compulsory helot. Under our political democracy he is a voluntary one. The change is profoundly important, but it is a transitory stage. He either steps back into the shadows of history once more or into the light of full social maturity. – *"Celticus" (Aneurin Bevan) in* Why Not Trust the Tories?, *Gollancz, London.*

of the common people as "The Padilla Doctrine."

The next speaker was United States Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, who had just returned from the Crimean Conference. He told the delegates what had been done at Yalta and what the United States was prepared to do at Mexico City. Picking up where Padilla left off, Stettinius declared: "Here in Mexico City we are particularly concerned with the application of this policy to the Western Hemisphere. The United States intends to propose and support measures for closer coöperation among us in public health, nutrition and food supply, labor, education, science, freedom of information, transportation and in economic development, including industrialization and modernization of agriculture."

Here was the answer to the question that had really brought the Latin Americans to Chapultepec. At the beginning of the war, the United States had anxiously cultivated its southern neighbors who possessed the manganese, the copper, the rubber, the aluminum, the quinine and other raw products without which it could not win the war. Later, United States foreign policy began to turn more and more attention to international coöperation, at the expense of hemisphere development. To disappointment among the Latin American Nations was added confusion, and finally deep resentment. Now Stettinius was reassuring them that the United States had not forsaken them, and that good neighbors in time of war are to be good neighbors also during peace.

The Conference then began its work. Five commissions were appointed, their tasks allotted to them by the Commission on Initiatives, composed of the heads of delegations, meeting behind closed doors. All other meetings were open, a procedure which caused favorable comment on Mexican freedom of the press as compared to restrictions imposed in international conferences held in the United States. An avalanche of 179 projects turned in by the 20 delegations were correlated and combined, then assigned to the five commissions for final disposal.

The opening session of Commission I, on Intensification of the War Effort, showed that the Latin Americans were disposed to give the United States even more coöperation than it might desire. If Latin American republics are to retain their independence, the delegates agreed, they will have to tie their destinies to that of a great military power—the United States. So it was that, shifting from former extreme jealousy of national sovereignty, Ambassador Castillo Nájera of Mexico introduced a proposal to form an Inter-American Military Organization composed of the Chiefs of Staff of all the republics, which should be charged with the defense of the continent. It was unanimously voted to recommend this revolutionary step to the American governments.

"The Act of Chapultepec" defined still more clearly the extent to which the nations of this continent are willing to combine their military power to defend any American republic from an aggressor, whether the attack should come from without or within the Western Hemisphere. This act, which, if finally signed by the governments, will make the unilateral interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine a mere page in history, went so far that the United States delegation asked that its approval be postponed until the arrival of Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, since the Senate would have final say on the matter.

A heated debate ensued between Senators Connally and Austin on one side and the chiefs of delegations from Colombia and Uruguay on the other. All agreed on the fundamental premise of the use of force against an aggressor. The Latins also agreed with the Senators that such a far-reaching proposal should state that it could become effective when approved according to the constitutional procedure of each contracting party. But Senator Connally met his match when he tried to persuade Alberto Lleras Camargo, the Minister of Colombia, to pass this on as a suggestion to the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, to see if that body would approve such action by a regional group. No, sir, said Camargo. The American continent will coöperate enthusiastically with the proposed world organization. But the American system has been functioning for 55 years, and an action of this kind should be a help, rather than a hindrance, to the delegates assembled to write the constitution of the world organization, he said. The unanimous passage of this "Act of Chapultepec" was one of the high points of the Conference.

Commission No. II, under the chairmanship of Secretary Stettinius, considered World Organization. The

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elaborate suggestions made by Latin American governments concerning changes in the Dumbarton Oaks plan were submitted to the Commission in an 80-page document. These referred largely to the democratizing of the organization by enlarging the powers of the Assembly and limiting the powers of the Security Council, as well as granting permanent representation on the Security Council to the Latin American group. The Commission had few meetings, and the discussion of these suggestions was largely left to San Francisco. Mr. Stettinius announced, on March 5, that he was now extending an invitation to the 19 American republics—and at the same moment at Washington the invitation was extended to members of the United Nations in other parts of the world—to meet on April 25 at San Francisco to form the long discussed United Nations organization.

Three important topics remained for the three other Commissions—Economic Coöperation, Reorganization of the Pan American Union, and Argentina. These were disposed of comparatively quickly. Dozens of schemes were rolled up together and settled in a combined vote of thanks to the authors; dozens of others were referred to coming conferences: the United Nations on April 25, the Inter-American Economic Conference to meet at Washington on June 15, and the Ninth Pan American Conference, scheduled for Bogotá in 1946.

The reorganization of the Pan American Union, giving it the right to discuss political questions, eliminating the overwhelming dominance by the United States and coördinating the numerous semi-independent inter-American bureaus, commissions, institutes and committees under the aegis of the Union, marked an important advance. The United States had long stood against such reorganization.

At the beginning of the Conference, it was expected that economic questions would dominate the gathering. Assistant Secretary Clayton and a large number of United States experts presented their Economic Charter. On the surface, it looked more or less like a diagram of the millennium. The Mexico City papers soon began to report objections, however, especially to the suggested move toward free trade, which would go against the new factories proposed for Latin America. The Economic Charter finally adopted approved ten general principles, including the raising of the standard of living, equal access to raw materials, practical formulas to reduce trade barriers, elimination of cartels and economic nationalism, fair treatment of foreign capital, encouragement of private initiative, international action to handle surpluses and efforts to better the conditions of laborers. Details for carrying out these principles were largely left to the Inter-American Economic Conference at Washington.

The last issue to come before the Conference was the case of Argentina. However, it proved impossible either to ignore the case or to treat it. The United States led the opposition to any appeasement in regard to the Farrell military clique. All right, said Cuba, Guatemala and others, then let us also move against Franco, the Falange and American dictatorships, like those in Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Brazil and Peru. But the Conference refused to face either the Franco problem or the one of American movements against democracy. It is well known that the case of Argentina involves not only a fundamental division of the American continent, with much secret sympathy where there is open condemnation, but that power politics as well as love of democracy, plays its part. That was the reason why the Chapultepec Conference felt that it must ignore this issue until the last day and then simply make a friendly gesture to the people of Argentina.

Still, in the words of President Padilla, the Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace was the most successful of all Pan American gatherings, although much ground remains to be cleared.

Mexico City SAMUEL GUY INMAN

The Aspidistras

Dear ladies, safe-walled in a row house, like all the other houses of its row,
This war (or any crude disaster) can never now invade your sphere:
Well shod, swathed in Burne-Jones and nibbling after-dinner mints,
Your lives are timeless as the aspidistras in your window jardiniere.

A sepia Colosseum; "The Storm" engraved in ominous steel-gray,
The beaded lamps, thick comfortable rugs, the Sunday ritual of roast lamb:
And now, the 8-day clock wound for the week, one may repose
And contemplate the tick of seconds, the flow of hours across the dam.

Empires collapse upon the radio (concession to a 7-tube superheterodyne);
Shostakovitch assaults the afternoon, but scarce disturbs the crust:
The curtains must be cleaned next week (a sip of Perrier): against this fact
Epistles of the passing presidents are vague; dictators are as dust.

Luxurious loud yawn, unstifled by Valenciennes handkerchief
That wafts last precious spendthrift aura of Roger & Gallet:
Blue dusk descends in gas lamps through the sycamores: the hour of tea:
The aspidistras grow, unchanged, in their slow green somber way.

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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Washington Notes

The Senate's Treaty Line-Up

As of today, my guess is that the Yalta-Dumbarton Oaks agreement and the forthcoming San Francisco pact will pass the Senate. This estimate is based on two reasons. First, a confidential Administration check of the highest validity shows only 13 die-hard opponents. Second (and this is controversial), the Yalta agreement is going to be found to mean less than it appears to mean: the real test of America's postwar willingness to coöperate is apt to come on specific economic issues, notably the tariff.

The following check is the best estimate that one of the highest Administration members, himself intimately connected with the Senate, can currently obtain:

For ratification: 48 Democrats, 22 Republicans. Against: 4 Democrats, 8 Republicans, 1 Progressive. Doubtful: 3 Democrats, 10 Republicans.

The opponents are as follows: Johnson, Colo., McCarran, Nev., O'Daniel, Texas, Wheeler, Mont. (Democrats); Brooks, Ill., Bushfield, S. D., Johnson, Calif., La Follette, Wis., Moore, Okla., Reed, Kan., Thomas, Idaho, Willis, Ind., Wiley, Wis. (Republicans and Progressive).

Doubtful: Gerry, R. I., Walsh, Mass., Tydings, Md. (Democrats). Butler, Neb., Capper, Kan., Capehart, Ind., Langer, N. D., Taft, O., Wherry, Neb., Millikin, Colo., Revercomb, W. Va., Robertson, Wyo., Shipstead, Minn. (Republicans).

America will take an immense step forward if it ratifies Dumbarton Oaks, as amended at Yalta. But even Senators are only just beginning to understand how extensively the proposed system is limited by the Big Five veto power. Each of the Big Five (America included) can not only veto use of sanctions against itself (though it cannot block investigation). It can go much further. Analysis of the intricate provisions brings out the uncomfortable fact, deprecatingly but positively acknowledged by the State Department, that each great power also has the right to block consideration of disputes *in which it is not involved*. It will take some time for this fact to sink in. But Dumbarton Oaks, out of Yalta—good though it may be—is a long, long way from the old League of Nations. It is hard to see, under these circumstances, how isolationists can generate the fury of the old League debate.

The real touchstone of America's desire for a better world is apt to come on the economic side—which means tariffs, and trade restrictions. The Bretton Woods monetary arrangement is under fierce attack in Congress. The oil treaty with Britain had to be withdrawn for revision. GOP quibbling surrounds the Chicago air treaty. Even the Mexican water treaty aroused selfish groups. And now a full-scale battle looms over tariffs. The State Department urgently asks authority for greater flexibility in tariff negotiation under Cordell Hull's Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, which comes up for a three-year extension immediately. The Administration has included an amendment permitting possible tariff cuts, 50 percent below some levels; 75 percent below Smoot-Hawley levels. This promises the biggest party-line fight of the session. Powerful GOP House spokesman Knutson reacted instantly: "This constitutes as great a threat to the American way of life as Jap and German armies combined," he cried. Senate minority whip Wherry was just as fierce. Thus, once again the issue is raised, whether and how much foreign goods we will accept from countries desirous of paying their debts.

France had annual prewar capacity of two billion yards of textiles; Belgium, a half-billion yards. The Germans used these mills for rayon and they are now found to be 85-percent intact. Great Britain today has some two years' supply of raw wool, the United States has the largest stock in history; Great Britain is 10 months ahead on cotton stocks, the United States has an immense pile of around 10 million bales. France, Belgium—and Europe generally—desperately need textiles and clothing. Obviously the thing to do is to send them raw cotton and wool, and start steam in their factories. This is a specific sample of Europe's relief problem, which is not so much food (believe it or not) as raw materials and transportation. It is also typical of what the new super-duper committee of top agency executives, under Chairman Leo Crowley, just set up by Byrnes, is supposed to do. The difficulties are two: First, transportation—it now takes about 90 days for a vessel to go to France, unload and return, whereas it should take 30 days, the difference being due to war conditions and inefficiency. Second, lack of an adequate top planning agency, with real punch. Best guess here is that the Crowley outfit won't do the job. Crowley himself is a figurehead. The agency is largely in the hands of the military, who are not interested in civilian affairs. Further, its attention is fixed on "screening" (it seems Harry Hopkins promised France a lot of trucks which we didn't have, and the committee now is trying to coördinate things better). This civilian rehabilitation job is still about where it was; it needs a top-level international-planning agency, with power to act.

Notes.—The GOP spent $1 for each 55 cents spent by Democrats in the last election, the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee reveals. . . . The all-party, $25.2 million campaign total doesn't include costs of House and local contests, which might double it. . . . Do you remember Fulton Lewis Jr. as he went from state to state in the last campaign, hopefully reporting a "Dewey trend" everywhere and charging that a Minnesota shipbuilding concern was "coercing" employees to vote for FDR? Well, the Senate committee (bipartisan) charges that Lewis, who broadcast nationally, refused to help substantiate the sensational, and unproved, assertion. . . . Secretary of Commerce Wallace has the patent system under his new control, and looks to a house-cleaning; Wallace friends didn't dare mention patents while the Senate was cutting down the department's power. . . . Special-interest lobbyists have had a field day before Representative Howard Smith's Special Committee to Investigate Acts of Executive Agencies Which Exceed Their Authority (SCTIAOEAWETA); seems they don't like the OPA. Only strong pressure obtained a brief chance for consumer reply.

Washington T. R. B.

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Fancy Romp

Foolish Notion, by Philip Barry. Martin Beck Theatre, March 13, 1945.

IT HAS BEEN well noised about by now that the new Philip Barry play, stampeded by Miss Tallulah Bankhead and produced by the Theatre Guild, turns round the return of a man from a long absence in Europe and the war. Since he has been missing for five years, he is counted legally dead and his wife is on the point of marrying again. The wife, through the strength of personality, has become an actress with a vast following, shared by the other member of the acting team who happens to be the man she loves and is about to marry. The invention then is that the husband's return and what happens is in turn visualized by the fiancé, the wife's father, the twelve-year-old adopted daughter, and then the wife, each in turn revealing the other's mind and kind, as the event comes to life in their several imaginations.

The device has entertaining possibilities and is worked out with varying degrees of success. Nothing could be heavier of us than to be solemn about what is only a rip and tear, fanciful farce, often a burlesque. We cannot, however, let everybody off too easy. After all, Mr. Barry has been taken seriously as a playwright; the Theatre Guild has achieved, aspired and pretended, as the case may have been in the divers cases, with marked acclaim or success; and plenty of people consider Miss Bankhead a good actress. It must be said, then, that "Foolish Notion," in the first part, is so full of amazingly cheap puns, wisecracks and punches that you find yourself wondering whether they are not more the result of amiability than cheapness on Mr. Barry's part, which is to say he let other people put some of them in during rehearsals. That reflection, sound or unsound, helps matters very little. The acting, the reading of the lines especially, under Mr. John C. Wilson's direction, is full of vulgar emphases, horsing and punches. How much the poor taste in the acting and the verve and harsh, high spirits are due to the actors and how much to the directing might be hard to say.

In the end the husband proves to have left home and disappeared for high-minded reasons, because of his love for a young woman in the house; so that with this solution waiting to be fulfilled—she is still there and has always loved him—all is well and the wife goes on with her plans to marry the other man. In the latter half of the play the guffaws from the audience blend into a more genuine laughter; for there is more invention, device and story to go on, and up to a certain point a more genuine humor. The final sum of the evening is that there has been a good deal of fun and jollity to be had out of it.

Mr. Donald Cook plays the actor fiancé with his familiar expertness and lack of any great choiceness in taste. Mr. Henry Hull has a fruitful part, since the husband is almost a different person in every one of his scenes; and he does well, or well enough. Miss Tallulah Bankhead gives a kind of house-party cutting up by way of performance, punching and slugging away at the laughs and the burlesquing. She plays all the basso-voice tricks, the obvious kidding transitions from one effect to another, and so forth and so on; and as any practised player knows, if you will take your time after each of these you will get your laugh from the house. She is engaging and magnetic, and she is such a good sport about letting the whole works romp, that you end by accepting her as highly entertaining.

A sort of left-handed compliment for "Foolish Notion" is to say that if you had seen the plays of the last few weeks, of many weeks in fact, with their silly-serious, serious-silly, pseudo-realistic banality and dullness, you would find this rodeo with Miss Bankhead, for all its lapses, quite a rollicking, bucking change on the bright side. STARK YOUNG

Through Thin and Thick

"THE RANDOLPHS" is a likable British film that has the lightness the English are better at getting than anybody else, possibly because they are so good at hiding the fact that there are artists at work. Part of it must also come from treating The Family with the nice-as-pie, old-maid sophistication and vacuity of ladies' magazines. The Randolphs are the large, grown-up family that gathers to celebrate the parents' golden wedding anniversary, and the amount the movie has to show of them equals in limpness and generalization its after-dinner speech which explains its conception of the family as a form that "bends but never breaks"—like a "dear octopus." The son gets over his surliness by the second night; one of the daughters has been living adulterously in Paris and expects to horrify her mother, but doesn't (the movie, though, doesn't strain the mother's broad mind by having the daughter still carrying on the affair); there is a bit of a spat between daughter and daughter-in-law, with both immediately apologizing. All of these adjustments, or bends, and the suggestion that some of the characters are either absent-minded, spoiled or "in limbo," are presented and knocked over in a way that makes them seem as formidable as feathers.

But "The Randolphs" shows that the English still make films having a more genuine life than Hollywood movies, and that they treat it with feeling much less dominated by the market. Though there is a pooped-out quality in the most original scene in the movie (one in which the grown-ups watch the children paint in watercolors and then take over the painting themselves), which comes from playing it only for what it could accomplish on the stage and for nothing it could get with the camera, still, what Hollywood would have done with it would have been irritating where this is pleasant. The pace, which here is pretty relaxed, irregular and lifelike, would probably have been stepped up in Hollywood; neither of the parents could have been paunchy, as they are, and unreservedly contented with their portly, parental look; the acting would be a little more trained, the grown-ups would have edged the children out of their chairs with a broader comic quality; the lighting would be less natural; the scene would have ended with a more successful joke and would altogether produce a disquieting cartoon effect. The movie's love affair is very mechanical and predictable but the people aren't so harassed as Hollywood people, and they have a moment at a preparation for a dance in the village that would be too undramatic for Hollywood but here is very touching.

The acting, writing and directing in the film version of the Raymond Chandler novel, "Farewell, My Lovely,"

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that is now called "Murder, My Sweet," are much less repressed than usual, and full of brightness, but it is also by all odds the most incomprehensible film in years. Some of the confusion comes from telling the story in a flashback, from a police grilling of a private detective (Dick Powell), and from having a very similar grilling involving the same people occur within the flashback (to keep straight on these confessions, watch for the eye bandage the detective wears in one of them). Another confusing element is the presence of a green jade necklace, worth about a hundred thousand dollars, which is explained only a little more than it is seen, which isn't ever. Even so, I would say that a green jade necklace is the most uninteresting evidence a movie mystery could use. The main trouble, though, has to do with its detective's working for too many people on too many jobs. Just before the end he says, "There are a lot of things about this I don't know, and a lot of things I'll never know." But the mystery gets solved just the same, by killing off everybody but the detective, his sweetheart and the people who grill him in the first scene. I think you could get at the underlying thread of this film the same way you could in "The Maltese Falcon"—by being allowed to take the dialogue home with you to study at length.

None of the cast, who are largely murderers, looks capable of killing, and Powell still looks more like an orchestra leader than a tough detective who is said to be more slot-machine than detective. But they all act as if they were full of understanding about themselves and about what is being said and done to them; also they have a touchy, exploding character that is somewhat theatrical but appropriate enough for people leading lurid lives. The movie does some good work in getting less obvious characteristics into the acting. I particularly liked some nervous giggling and twitching by the murderess (Claire Trevor) when she feels she is getting the better of the detective, and the ability of Miles Mander to make himself convincingly good and doddering, capable of marrying a young, cruel person and defending her to the limit. The movie also makes a nice, unsuccessful try to get inside Mr. Powell while he is being drugged and beaten, and is more exciting just after this when he tries to stand up, walk, go down stairs and carry on as a normal and properly functioning man.

There is a good understanding and enthusiasm about sets that makes the detective's room disordered enough, puts tin cans outside of a hovel for him to trip over one night, and puts the doorknobs in a mausoleum-like mansion chin high. The photography misses a good deal of brutality and grimness, as well as conviction, by being continually as melodramatic as the photographs in detective magazines. The off-screen narration by the detective could be thrown away, and many of the people sound like the same person. The detective's "I was trying it on for size" when he is guessing sounds like the dumb brute saying "She's as cute as lace pants," who sounds like the sweetheart saying "You keep hitting in between tackle and left end," who sounds like the murderess telling the girl, who has lost her temper, "Your slip shows, dearie." The movie has as little interest in uncovering the whole nature of its people and their evil as "The Randolphs" shows in getting at the landed-gentry family. But both films are quite a bit above average. For instance, they are many miles above "The Affairs of Susan" and "Tonight and Every Night." MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

The Rhine front we will hold under all circumstances, but just for spite we will let Stalin take all of the Reich—then England's imperialist policy is sunk. – *AP dispatch from London quoting a German broadcast.*

George Cambadjoglou, 20-year-old demobilized member of the Elas, was shot dead by a policeman "because he was singing the Elas anthem, which made him furious." – *From the New York* Times.

Greater confidence in the continuation of American democracy was shown in the tendency to pay out a larger percentage of earnings in dividends. This is a highly favorable symptom.

Its basis is illustrated by the attitude Congress has already shown toward the nomination of Wallace by Mr. Roosevelt, to say nothing of the President's children. At least we are still a democracy. – *From the financial section of the San Francisco* Call-Bulletin.

Sadism

Harry Berger, proprietor of a music store at 333 E. Fordham Rd., yesterday paid a $2 fine in Bronx Magistrate's Court for playing "One Meatball" over a public-address system for almost three hours on . . . meatless Tuesday. – *From the* Bronx Home News.

Could Be

Rifle shots were fired into the office of Mario Berlinguer, high commisssioner [in Rome] for the punishment of Fascist crimes, today, and the official was slightly wounded by flying glass. Police believed the shooting was an attempt to assassinate Signor Berlinguer. – *UP dispatch from Rome.*

On the Home Front

Running contrary to the field, the Monte Carlo reported a 12-percent increase in business since the curfew began.

"We have a 'last-hour stand' here with everybody drinking double and triple drinks," said Richard Flanagan, manager. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Business Connections of Public Servants

SIR: On January 30, 1943, at the New York annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies, I, an accredited delegate, presented a resolution, suggesting that the Council should in some statement to the administrative officers and the faculties of American colleges and universities affirm the conviction that "in a democracy the professors in universities and colleges should serve only the public interest." In addition and to this end the resolution proposed that "all teachers in institutions of higher learning be required to note to their college officials their contractual connections with corporations or private and even public utilities." These connections should be noted after teachers' names in some readily accessible publication, "so that any pronouncements may be judged by the public and the

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press as to whether such pronouncements emanate from a financial interest or from an academic (unpaid) interest in the public welfare." This resolution was fully given in *Science*, organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, May 7, 1943.

At the present time, when adjusted compensation for congressmen is being actively pushed, it seems fitting to propose that United States Senators and Representatives also register their affiliations with corporations. Naturally this should also be extended to the members of the many scientific bureaus of the United States Government. Possibly even the secretaries and clerks of all government employees should be put under civil-service regulations, with the possible exception of a secretary who had been a paid employee of a congressman three months before his nomination.

The immediate motivation of the proposal was the public statement by Secretary Harold Ickes that when he requested aid from the National Academy of Sciences, to aid "small" business, the Academy gave him only men with such paid connections and their advice coincided always with the desires of the paid interest represented by these "advisers."

It has been known, since the investigation of the National Electric Light Association, that this single corporate organization employed some 1,500 professors to lecture or write against public ownership of utilities without revealing the professorial paid interest. At present probably five to ten thousand professors have some such connection.

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI

The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Labor's Role in a Democracy

SIR: Mr. Seligman's review of Stuart Chase's *Democracy under Pressure* [the *New Republic*, February 19] illustrates what is wrong with the book. He accepts Chase's account of the labor lobby as just another Me First group at war with the public interest. He says Chase has done "some of the best writing of his career."

There's the double deviltry of it. The book is a fabrication of fancies from the Chase fireside at Redding, Connecticut, stated with verve, force and clarity, precisely as though Chase knew what he was talking about.

First, Chase has not inquired as to the activities of the labor lobby. He urges it to take up certain public issues, which, unknown to him, it has long fought for, often alone. He omits reference to its services in many other public causes which defy his Me First epithet.

Second, he puts Big Business, Big Agriculture and Big Labor in the same bed, all bad, all equally guilty. Even granting the sins of labor which he picks up from Kiplinger and Thurman Arnold, he has not proved the labor lobby a match for the business lobby, nor fairly reported the former's continuing struggle against the thievery of the latter.

Worst, he builds a battering ram against "pressures" at a time in history when we need more pressure and to make better use of it. The people have a job to do here in America. The Chase book is more likely to persuade them that it's a dirty mess they'd rather not get mixed up with. If so, its consequences will prove more significant than its contents.

DONALD MONTGOMERY,

Detroit, Mich. Consumer Counsel, UAW-CIO

SIR: Mr. Montgomery seems unduly disturbed. Chase clearly admits that labor must exert its own pressures to counteract those of Big Business and Big Farmers. Yet he is rightly concerned about the harmful effects of a head-on collision of these groups. Nor does the "thievery" of one excuse the restrictive practices of a Petrillo. Surely labor has little to gain by advocating a narrow approach; that is what Stuart Chase is talking about. And Mr. Montgomery's excited "realism" won't help matters either.

Brooklyn, N. Y. BEN B. SELIGMAN

SIR: I thought I had been a "friend of labor" long enough to be allowed a few words of advice to "labor" in its own interest. "Labor," of course, is not an entity. I tried to make that very clear.

Mr. Montgomery, if and when he read my book, seems to have overlooked some references to services of labor groups, such as the following on page 120:

> Two recent developments have given the consumer movement a great impetus—first . . . the OPA . . . second, those labor organizations which have acted as gadfly to the OPA. The cost-of-living figures of the CIO were severely criticized on technical grounds, but the effect was to express a strong political demand for price control.

Perhaps, too, he overlooked the following stirring quote on page 79 from J. Raymond Walsh, of the research department of the CIO:

> I believe the greatest single object of organized labor should be graduation from the purely pressure-group approach to problems of hours and wages, prices and working conditions, to one of national leadership in the welfare of this country. The day of the self-interest pressure group is past. Instead, this is a time when no group can be secure in an insecure society; a time when the pragmatist works for the security of his fellow men in order to secure his own.

To which I added: "In the last sentence, Mr. Walsh has given the theme of this book."

Georgetown, Conn. STUART CHASE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A sergeant with the First Army invading Germany, sends us a criticism of Max Lerner's article, "Germany without Illusions" [*New Republic*, October 30, 1944]. He particularly objects to the lack of specific analysis, which he says is exemplified by the labeling of the German "democratic potential" as "negligible" and the entire German people as "brutalized." "I am inclined to think," he says, "that there is need for the liberal to begin fathering the specific proposal and resisting the temptation of the glittering generality."

Dr. Henry Neuman, Leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, feels that an injustice was done him by the *New Republic's* summary of a letter of his in the Mail Bag for February 5. "My main point," he says, "was that when advocates of social change play up increased wealth for the common man as the one great object for which to strive, it need not surprise us that many hearers do not care at all how this one object is achieved, and therefore so-called socialists turn communists or fascists. Failure to insist upon democratic procedures is loaded with just such dangers as Friedrich A. Hayek mentions. It would seem by no means impractical to keep in the foreground the ends to which even the necessary economic changes should minister, that is, the chance to pay a truer respect to human dignity, the increased opportunity for people to fulfill their functions as persons, to become better parents, better citizens, worthier specimens of humankind. That this task calls for more earnest reflection and imagination than it has received is the more reason for emphasizing the need at all times."

The National Conference of Christian and Jews, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois, sends us a copy of its pamphlet, *Reading for Democracy: III*, which lists 36 recently published books dealing with the problems of democracy. The pamphlet may be obtained free of charge from the conference.

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Books in Review

Italy: The Literary Scene

DEAR W——: I promised in my last letter to gather together for you a few notes on what's been published in Italy today. . . . I know you will want to know the names of the writers who seem to be making a fresh contribution to Italian letters and something about their books, who the new poets are and so on. The situation, though, just doesn't lend itself to that kind of discussion—at least not yet—and for any understanding of the turn which literary events may take here in the next few months I think it is necessary to have in mind the one or two general conditions which I am going to describe. I'm not sure that this is going to be a very exciting letter for you to read—it won't contain much in the way of urgent recommendation to read this, that, or the other book—but I believe it will give you a fairly accurate picture of what has been going on in recent months.

You may remember some of the letters I wrote you from North Africa, about the books I had found in Algiers or Tunis, and if you do, you will recall that almost everything I mentioned had a fair chance of eventually reaching the States; because the books that were published in Algiers fitted very easily into the total picture of recent French literature with which American readers were already familiar. Nor was the volume of publication very great; once inside the large bookstores of the Rue Michelet or the Rue d'Isly, however abundant the window display, one found that the shelves were filled with a multitude of copies of the same few titles. Now, in both these respects, the situation in Italy is very different. Few Americans *have* any total picture of recent Italian literature into which to fit what is new, and there is a vast amount of publication of one kind or another, much of which, however interesting and valuable for an Italian or for a foreigner who finds himself in Italy, is not particularly exportable and would not find any particular demand in America. It has always to be remembered that a start is being made, in some ways a completely new start, and the immediate results are apt to serve purposes for Italy herself which they cannot serve for the outside world.

First of all, about periodicals. Since the beginning of December, or shortly after the restriction on newsprint was removed, the number of weeklies has become almost overwhelming. A newsdealer who wants to display each of the dailies and weeklies that he sells has to cover his booth on all four sides and from top to bottom. Even after picking out the comparatively small number which have some interest, it's possible each week to collect enough illustrated or political or literary journals to start a good-sized dental practice. . . . Of the Roman weeklies—all in course of publishing their first five or six numbers—two of the very best are *La Nuova Europa*, directed by Luigi Salvatorelli, which avoids the sensational as it would the plague and devotes about three-quarters of its space to national and international problems and the rest to the arts and belles-lettres; and *Domenica*, directed by Piero Arnaldi, which has the best booknotes and reviews of theatre and music that I have so far found anywhere. *Quadrante* calls itself "an illustrated weekly of art, literature and variety," but sometimes the illustrations and the variety seem to have too much the upper hand: one number printed on its front page, next to a letter from Dostoevsky to his brother (hitherto unpublished in Italy) the "$10,000 photograph" of a certain Mary Miller jumping off the roof of the Genesee Hotel in Buffalo. The best straight illustrated news weekly is *La Settimana*, which publishes analytical articles, good documentary photographs and excerpts from the foreign press.

There are also a number of monthly reviews, and one of these, *Mercurio*, is one of the finest and most consistently interesting I have known anywhere. It is published under the direction of Alba de Céspedes, with Gino De Sanctis as its editor-in-chief; in format it somewhat resembles *Horizon*, though it is rather more generous in its contents, running to about 150 pages an issue. It has sections on politics —articles by Pietro Nenni, Corrado Alvaro, Aldo Garosci, for example, and sometimes by correspondents of British and American newspapers like Christopher Lumby and Herbert Matthews; three or four short stories in each number, by such established Italian writers as Guido Piovene, Gianna Manzini and R. M. De Angelis, as well as by foreigners—Jean-Paul Sartre ("Le Mur"), Supervielle, Hemingway. What is not to be taken completely for granted is that all the fiction it publishes is good. Most of the poetry, unfortunately, is not by Italians. There are also one or two articles on science, usually on medicine, as well as critical articles—Mario Praz and Croce have contributed—and a set of chronicles. I hope that in time its book reviews will deal more frequently with Italian books and not, as they have so far mostly done, with works, not always particularly new, by foreigners. But this feature points to a condition which you meet everywhere in Italian publishing today, and which I had in mind when I said earlier that in meeting the demands of Italian readers, Italian publishers are apt, at least for the moment, to produce books for which there would be no demand in the rest of Europe or in America. But on the whole, *Mercurio* presents a brilliant exception to the second part of this general proposition. I should especially like to recommend the fourth number of the review, published in December, a special double number devoted exclusively to documentation of "the resistance of the Italian people to the German oppression"; articles, stories, excerpts from diaries, poems, tracing personal reactions to the events that followed on the armistice. Among the poems are a longish "Dialogo dell'Angelo e del Giovine Morto," by Corrado Govoni, and shorter poems by Eugenio Montale, Antonio Russi and Giorgio Bassani. One of the best, "Memoria," by Natalia Ginzburg, who formerly wrote under the name of Alessandra Tornimparte, is in memory of the author's husband who died at the hands of the Gestapo in a Roman prison little more than a year ago. This poem treats the personal tragedy which forms its subject with a restraint and simplicity which recall some of the best poetry which came out of Occupied France. . . .

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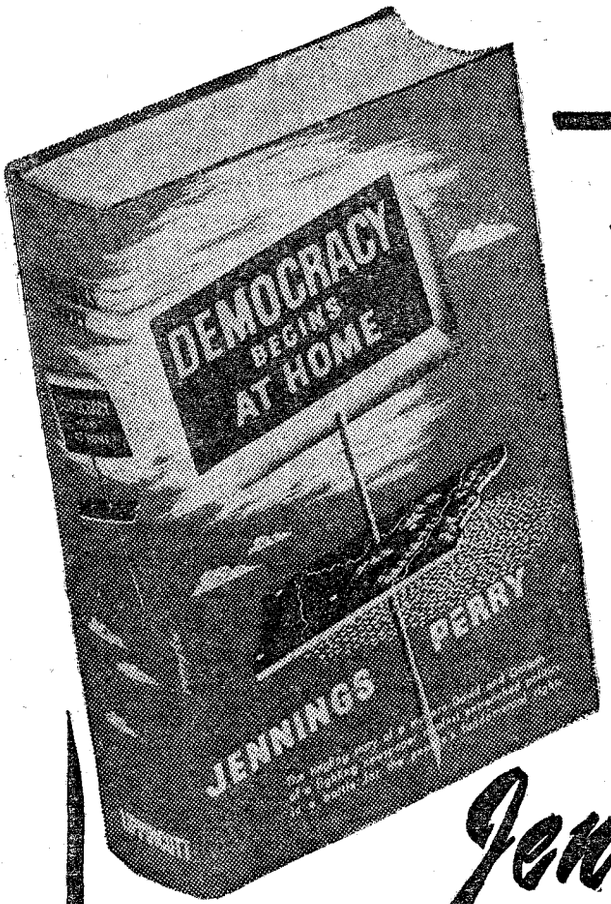

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This special number of *Mercurio* is Italian through and through; there are no translations from foreign authors—none of the poetry by French or Russian or Scandinavian writers which has lately been so ubiquitous—and as a collective expression by writers known and unknown, some of whom have used pseudonyms to protect families or friends in the north, of a specifically Italian experience, it will be interesting and valuable for the reader abroad who wishes to have a source of first-hand information about Italian reaction to recent events. I think that any reader who once makes the acquaintance of *Mercurio*, whether in this or in the regular numbers, will find good reason to wish it continued success and prosperity.

But the thoroughgoing Italian quality of the special number is in marked contrast to the general tendency in Italian publishing today. Never, anywhere, have I seen such deference paid to foreign works, such an eager interest in what is being written or has been written in other countries. I think it's fair to say that three-fourths of the books published in recent months have been translations. . . . There are dozens of series of books in which are represented, not, to be sure, so very many Americans (though there have been translations of Steinbeck, Kenneth Roberts, Vincent Sheean), but all the Russian classical novelists and dramatists, a great variety of French writers, of every type and time, English novelists and poets, as well as Germans and such Scandinavians as Ibsen, Jacobsen and J. V. Jensen.

Rilke has been very popular lately, and in one edition or another practically all his works are obtainable. In Bompiani's *Collezione Universale* "Corona," one of the finest and best established of all the collections, which includes rather more Italian works than some of the others, and in which all the titles are significant, well printed and handsomely presented, there is a translation of *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*. Sansoni, in Florence, published at a time when Italy was still an active partner in the Axis, a selection in several volumes of Rilke's poetry and prose, as well as some of the poetry and prose of Hugo von Hofmannsthal: both of these writers were proscribed in Germany. Recently Carlo Cya, in Florence, began publication of a series of extremely attractive volumes, somewhat resembling the Peter Pauper Press books, which includes Rilke's *Letters to a Young Poet* (as well as letters of Foscolo and Garibaldi). And just a month ago Baudelaire's *Spleen de Paris* was published in Rome as the first volume of a series which will consist of French works in French.

Mario Praz says somewhere, though I'm not sure that he means it, that with the exception of Pirandello the modern Italian theatre does not exist; nevertheless, it is striking that there was a time this season when a Roman theatregoer had his choice of three plays: Sardou's "Rabagas," Romains' "Knock" and, by the permanent company of the Teatro Eliseo, Jean Cocteau's "Les Parents Terribles"; earlier in the season Giraudoux's "La Guerre de Troie N'Aura Pas Lieu" had been presented, though the critical reaction to it that I saw was not at all favorable. There is a good deal of interest in literary events in France, and from reading the Roman weeklies one is kept pretty well up to date about what is going on there.

The first number of *Poesia*, a quarterly devoted exclusively to poetry and criticism, edited by Enrico Falqui, appeared in Rome in January, and its contents are revealing and typical of the present state of Italian letters. It is a substantial volume of more than two hundred pages, looking a little like *Hound and Horn* in its last phase. There is a certain amount of work by contemporary Italians, most of them already well known figures like Libero De Libero and Aldo Palazzeschi; at least in this number, *Poesia* does not seem to be an organ for new voices, but that is perhaps only because the new voices have not yet come forth; and there is a good deal of critical material dealing with Italian poetry and poetics of the past—excerpts from Petrarch under the heading "Sulla Poesia," discussions of Alfieri and a group of his sonnets, etc.—but the emphasis is international. There is a large French section, with such critical material as Gide's "Définition de la Poesie," and a good deal of recent French verse—Aragon, Eluard, Supervielle, Pierre Emmanuel—in French. Then there is an equally large English section, in which are printed six of Shakespeare's sonnets in Ungaretti's translation, a number of poems by Hopkins, Eliot's "East Coker," "The Hollow Men" and a section of "Ash Wednesday," and Auden's "It Was Easter as I Walked in the Public Gardens." With all these poems, the English text is printed at the bottom of the page. In succeeding sections account is taken of German (Goethe), Scandinavian and Russian proletarian poetry, and finally, rather by way of running the thing into the ground, of Chinese and Indian poetry and esthetic. (The last number of *Mercurio*, incidentally, has a chronicle devoted to recent Turkish letters.) *Poesia* is edited, to judge from this first number, with care and taste, and with a real awareness of the important recent poetical developments abroad; it is typical of the general state of Italian letters today in that it aims only incidentally to present the work of new Italian writers, though they are included, but has the avowed intention of making available to Italians the best poetry and criticism of other countries and other times. Possibly in the editor's introductory note, in which he explains his reasons for undertaking what might seem the hazardous and maybe even absurd task of founding an international review of poetry old and new, can be found the explanation for the whole general tendency of Italian publishing, in these preliminary stages, to publish more proved work, whether Italian or foreign, than work of new Italian writers:

> We believe that such an undertaking is among the most indispensable: that it is exactly in times of sorrow and disorder such as this that we must try to tap the sources of essential truth of intelligence and feeling, wherever the art has manifested and affirmed itself in its most lastingly valuable forms. The voice of the poets, the . . . manifestation of brotherhood among men of good will, will succor us. . . .

So it is no accident that in the bookshops you find a far greater proportion of translations from the classics, from the poets, novelists, diarists and philosophers of every land than of strictly new native work. Although Italian publishing seems to have had a fairly good record, even during the years of control, of printing works by foreigners which did not conform to the tenets of the official ideology, there has lately been a great rush to satisfy hungers which could not earlier have been very abundantly appeased. After years in which the principle of complete national self-sufficiency had been carried to its extreme limits, the publishers are satisfying the desires of their readers to reëstablish contact with

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writers and thinkers beyond the frontiers. In the next few months I believe that Italian writers, many of the best of whom have been hindered in their work by the common preoccupations and hardships, will again begin to make themselves heard. HERBERT C. BARROWS JR.

Latin America's Needs

Latin America in the Future World, by George Soule, David Efron and Norman T. Ness. Supervised by Alvin H. Hansen. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 372 pages. $3.50.

FEW BOOKS on Latin America offer a more substantial portrayal of the life of our southern neighbors than this essentially factual volume. Summarizing the results of a long and careful study sponsored by the National Planning Association, it presents an admirably organized analysis of virtually every social and economic problem that now confronts the South American continent.

The authors deliberately high-light "not what is right but what is wrong, in order that what is wrong may be made right." They are not afraid to show the undernourishment, the poverty and the illiteracy. Here is a large segment of the earth, they say, which is truly backward. The majority of the people, second-class citizens, possess few political and economic privileges. Work relations are archaic and the widespread absentee landlordism enforces a vicious and stultifying feudalism. The lords and masters apparently prefer quick cash-crop gains; they see little need for a diversified agricultural pattern. Add to this an exasperatingly inadequate power and transport system, and it is no wonder that "Latin America experiences far less of the freedom from want than do the United States or Western Europe."

Latin Americans will not enjoy better living standards, the writers imply, in a purely extractive export economy. Yet an industrial base is not impossible. The authors clearly show that the continent's resources can very well support light manufacturing industries, which would lessen the violent impact of world markets.

The creation of an advanced economy will depend in large measure on what the United States and Britain do after the war. These countries will be seeking fresh outlets to sustain their own systems and Latin America may become an important investment area. And there need be no imperialist antagonisms: the authors prove quite conclusively that American and British trade activities in Latin America are complementary rather than competitive.

The authors do not overlook the effects that this war has had on the southern economies. The curious inflation, the problems of money, the enforced adjustments in trade relations and the first halting steps toward a reform program are discussed with a perception rare in books of this kind. Yet one of our daily newspaper commentators is so self-satisfied that he fears this volume may stir "explosive emotional reactions." The low nutrition standards and the appalling incidence of disease do not disturb him in the least. We should not employ North American criteria, he suggests, to judge Latin America. Such smugness is really shocking. The writers here may appear harsh at times, but we now know what the Good Neighbor Policy must really do.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

BLACK BOY

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Man, Europe, Czecho-Slovakia

The Hideout, by Egon Hostovsky. New York: Random House. 112 pages. $1.75.
Hundred Towers, A Czecho-Slovak Anthology. Edited, with an introduction by F. C. Weiskopf. New York: L. B. Fischer. 277 pages. $3.50.

EGON HOSTOVSKY will probably be unfamiliar to most American readers, as he was to me. His acquaintance, by way of *The Hideout*, is well worth making, even though his book is betrayed by its better qualities, which somehow create the impression that he has surpassed them in other works. This novelette tells the story of a Czech engineer who leaves country, capital city, wife and family shortly before the German occupation. His motives for escape are not purely political, though he is wanted by the Nazis, who have been informed by his traitorous employer that he has perfected a gunsight. So much is he a victim of his time and a symbol of his country that no clear assessment of motives is possible; the political and personal interpenetrate in their mutual confusion—he is also seeking escape from an unsuccessful marriage, and hopes to find happiness with the widow he pursues to Paris.

His romantic hopes are frustrated and the French government is not interested in his gunsight. The war breaks out; he sinks into utter dejection, from which he is rescued by an old friend, Dr. Aubin, who finds him staring into the Seine. Aubin offers to hide him from the Nazis and takes him off to his home in Normandy, where he keeps him in his cellar. The Czech engineer spends "many many months" in the darkness, cut off from all society and barely keeping alive. His teeth fall out, he sickens and approaches madness brought on by privation, solitude and guilt.

He can look out of his cellar, although none can look in on him. The door is unlocked and he is free to leave at any time; he is thus a voluntary prisoner, and his imprisonment is all the more unbearable because he lacks the will and the human means—solidarity with suffering Europe—to break out of it. There follows a series of symbolic episodes involving a few stereotypes of alienation and "underground" experience—the nightmare image of the guilty conscience (a human face without a nose), attraction to the evil that one has been fleeing (embracing a Nazi, recognized as an old school chum) and the saving act of sacrificing the love-hate object (killing the Nazi with a shovel). The episodes culminate in the hero's making contact with the resistance movement (the other "underground"). He devises a plan for sinking a ship bare-handed and agrees to carry out this suicidal act of sabotage. These scenes—the climax of the novel—are the poorest, because the most obvious, elements in the plot (perhaps a redemption story must itself commit a few sins), but their shortcomings are artfully concealed by the pacing of the suspense and the expanding area of reflection with which Hostovsky surrounds them. Thus, when the engineer comes to accept his death, the author has built up the conviction of emotional necessity. Death is not too great a price to pay for solidarity with the people, the release from the prison of the will.

While waiting to be put on board, he writes out his experiences for his wife to read, that she may know what became of him, why he left her and why and with what love for her he is to undertake an adventure which will redeem and end his life. This is the story that we read, and the retelling shows its weaknesses: the plot is not perfectly coördinated with the symbolism, coincidence is overplayed to save time, and the difficulties of exposition—in touching upon his past, the engineer is telling his wife what she already knows—prevent a full development of character. But Hostovsky's literary economy is excellent. He makes no attempt to embellish his narrative, accepts its limited means and works out whatever richness it does actually contain.

Hostovsky's theme takes the form of a statement of our common guilt in the suffering of mankind, and a pledge to restore humanity by restoring the self. Guilt is again the theme of his short story, "Return" (the prologue to a novel), included in *Hundred Towers*. The exile's longing for the mother country, his guilt at not having shared the suffering of the people who remained behind and his own suffering in a foreign country appear clearly in it, together with Madman Charlatan, the alter ego who puts the

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Author of The Grandmothers and Goodbye, Wisconsin

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writer's protestations to the test, reminding the man who has taken the high moral vow of solidarity of his limitations and his human crookedness. Guilt, redemption, solidarity, the avenues by which Hostovsky would approach humanity, and humanity itself, all have a concrete referent in Hostovsky's symbolism—Europe. European experience, with Czecho-Slovakia a normal but central part of it, what Europe has undergone, the crimes she has suffered and performed —it is this which is to be redeemed and made human again. But one may well ask, at the point where Europe becomes politics and humanity ceases to be a state of heart—"What is Europe, what shall it be, how is redemption to be accomplished?" Here "Return" and *The Hideout* break off abruptly.

The other stories in *Hundred Towers* are much too monotonously rural. Each is good in itself; nearly all have an emotional maturity far ahead of anything in recent American regionalism, and a few, such as "Miracle in the Mountains," by Ivan Olbracht, and Jan Drda's "A Coffin Beneath the Stars," deserve to be included with Europe's best. But I'm afraid the editor has been unwisely led by a desire to show Czech-Slovak unity into selecting stories that will give a homogeneous and peaceful (for all the suffering) impression of his country. While I know nothing about Czecho-Slovakian literature, figures like Kafka, Rilke and Hostovsky himself would make one think that other Czecho-Slovakian writers responded to their home and their continent at a more urban, diversified and modern level.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Fractional Fiction

The Open City, by Shelley Smith Mydans. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 245 pages. $2.50.
Yeoman's Hospital, by Helen Ashton. New York: The Viking Press. 271 pages. $2.50.
Faces in a Dusty Picture, by Gerald Kersh. New York: Whittlesey House. 162 pages. $2.

THESE THREE NOVELS are the fruits of first-hand acquaintance with rather grim material. Mrs. Mydans' first novel is based on her eight months' internment in the compound of Santo Tomas University in the Philippines and seems to be the least supported by purely fictional devices. Mrs. Ashton's cross-section of twenty-four hours of life in a wartime hospital is the work of a more seasoned novelist as well as medical student and nurse. She manages to keep the small-town English hospital she depicts quite sharply particularized, and telescopes into it a fund of general knowledge. *Faces in a Dusty Picture* is a headlong, breathless account of an African campaign by an Englishman who fought in Libya and is both professional soldier and novelist. It is the only book of the three that strikes one as being written at concert pitch; it is rhetorically adventurous, highly imaged and is written completely in the present tense. An increase of vividness is gained by this departure without any marked strain or artificiality.

In all three, a successful kind of communication takes the place of experiences not likely to have been shared by the reading public. It is too simple to say that this is mere reporting and that the authors would have been well advised to give a straight factual account of their material. For one thing, considerable imaginative effort is required to

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replace what can only be conjectural in fact with what must be certainty in fiction. Again, the very form of the novel compels the utilization of character as the agent of all revelation. Our interest in an environment is only maintained to the extent of its relevance to an action which we follow through our sympathy with a person involved. What is apt to happen, however, in novels of this increasingly popular genre, is that the minimum of character and situation necessary to arouse our interest in the milieu is created and then dispensed with. What was meant to be absorbed as incidental becomes the major aim of the novel, and, as though by sleight-of-hand, our curiosity is attracted in one direction only to be satisfied in another.

In *Yeoman's Hospital*, character and conflict are reduced to proportions as slight as those of a musical comedy. The young country girl spending her first day as a nurse, the choleric old surgeon disappointed by an incompetent son, an ulcerous and brilliant young pathologist in love with an equally brilliant young woman doctor, all serve as little more than peepholes into the surgical theatre, the board meeting, the laboratory and the nurses' dormitory. These are handled with competent realism but without the edge of any special insight. Mrs. Ashton's most worthwhile achievement is in the creation of single lens-like scenes whereby all the processes of the hospital may be seen in confluence and the organization of these points made into an intelligible design. It is by the reduction of our astigmatic bewilderment at the alien complexity of our institutions that this and similar novels find a justification and a rationale.

Gerald Kersh gives us the color, activity and personnel of his Libyan army rather than its mechanism or organization, but the result is similar—an increased awareness of a complex whole. The effect, in this case, is a kind of hummingbird's-eye view as brief incidents are culled from among the marching ranks, the officers' mess and the general's tent. Perhaps the best thing in it is the dialogue, which seems as if it might be authentic English army speech and is the counterpart of American "hard-boiled" dialogue. It is, at least in these pages, an even more violent, varied and picturesque argot, though less pointed or suggestive of extreme emotional pressures than the common speech of the Hemingway school. Mr. Kersh is afflicted, too, with an unsubtle variant of the "tough guy" code of morality which operates to tilt a likely picture to a false angle. The coefficients of stalwart indifference, courage and pride in "putting up a good show" are all too high and his one lone malingerer is subjected to a baroque verbal drubbing of such gratuitous proportions as to confirm one's suspicion that a camouflaged old school tie is a part of Mr. Kersh's moral uniform.

Like *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Open City* assuages a fundamental human anxiety by its delineation of the salvage of civilized behavior from apparent shipwreck. When the Japanese herd some two thousand civilian prisoners into a university compound with miserably inadequate provision for sustaining life and health, one anticipates a total collapse of human stability. It is with sanity and restraint that Mrs. Mydans depicts the emergence of a functioning human community, as self-government through committee is established, coöperative arrangements for common welfare devised and anarchy forestalled. She concentrates chiefly on the relations of the prisoners to one another, works

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hard to be objective and steers away from moral judgments with quiet desperation. They are, however, impossible to avoid, and the delineation of her heroine suggests an ideal of behavior, particularly in contrast to that of some of the other characters.

This ideal could stand critical scrutiny, as it is very much in the air. Roughly, it interprets Aristotelian moderation as the possession of every virtue in its weakest form. Katherine is pretty but emphatically not seductively beautiful, intelligent (at about a *New Yorker* level) but definitely not intellectual, competent but not obnoxiously efficient, and emotional up to the point where it might interfere with her competence. She is, in short, a well rounded half-woman and an exact index of her author's amazingly complete and utterly truncated responses to her subject matter.

The major difficulty that besets these novelists is the general one of adjusting emotions to catastrophes of a magnitude beyond their limit of expansion. In fiction, at least, it would seem that only temperaments broad enough to include all humanity in a sympathetic embrace, or narrow enough to be content with purely personal concerns, can escape partial falsification. In between these extremes is a no-man's land of attitude populated by such distortions as Mrs. Mydans' subdued exaltation of inhibition, Mr. Kersh's slapdash reverence for a mythical norm and Mrs. Ashton's special blend of impersonal realism and unreal characterization.

WILLIAM POSTER

In forthcoming issues of the *New Republic* there will be reviews by

Malcolm Cowley on George Santayana's *Persons and Places, Part II;*
Richard Watts Jr. on Rosamond Lehman's *The Ballad and the Source;*
Robert S. Lynd on Aneurin Bevan's *Why Not Trust the Tories?;*
Alexander Kendrick on Edmund Stevens' *Russia Is No Riddle;*
Harry Levin on André Gide's *Hamlet;*
Marjorie Farber on Marguerite Young's *The Angel in the Forest;*
Granville Hicks on Max Lerner's *Public Journal;*
Robert Gorham Davis on Glenway Wescott's *Apartment in Athens.*

Contributors

PAUL A. SAMUELSON, an associate professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, is now on leave to do technical war work. He formerly served as consultant on postwar planning to the National Resources Planning Board.

RICHARD LEE STROUT is a member of the Washington staff of the *Christian Science Monitor.*

DR. SAMUEL GUY INMAN, professor of Latin American History at Columbia and Yale Universities and former director of the refugee service of the League of Nations for Latin America, has been a United States delegate to three Inter-American conferences.

T/SGT. FREDERICK EBRIGHT'S work has appeared in Oscar Williams' anthology, *New Poems: 1944,* and also in the *Nation,* the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *Commonweal,* the *Virginia Quarterly Review* and other magazines. He is serving with the Army Air Forces.

HERBERT C. BARROWS JR., now a T/5 in the United States Army, was an instructor in English at Harvard University and has also worked for a government agency. Before going to Italy he was stationed for some time in North Africa.

BEN B. SELIGMAN, a frequent contributor to the *New Republic,* is a commodity analyst for the Office of Price Administration.

ISAAC ROSENFELD, formerly an assistant editor of the *New Republic,* has just been awarded first prize in the *Partisan Review* novelette contest for his story, *The Colony.*

WILLIAM POSTER is a free-lance writer who lives in New York City. His reviews appear in the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune.*

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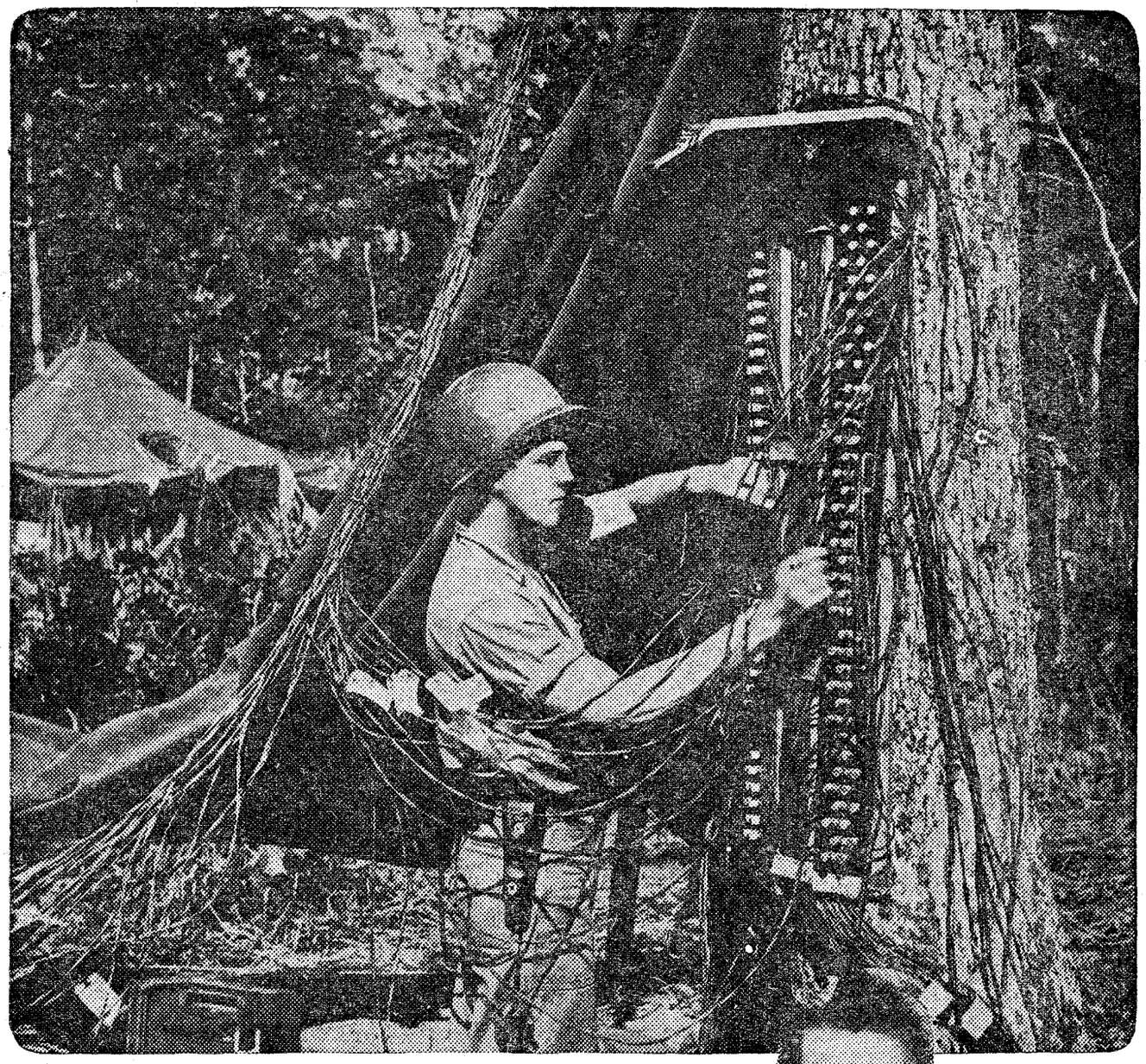

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